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THE
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BY
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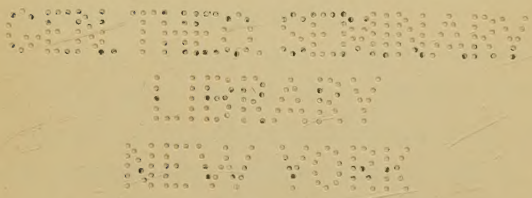

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PREFACE

A VAST amount of research and criticism has been directed, during the last few years, upon the New Testament representation of the Person of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

The object of the present work is to show that the result of this labour, taken as a whole, has been to confirm the views which the Christian Church has always held on this, the most sacred of all subjects of religious thought.

Works of the 'liberal' and negative schools of criticism have been largely cited. In the opinion of the present writer, their admissions, made after searching examination of the Sources, are full of significance. They afford a solid, because fully tested, ground on which to place our construction of the mystery of the Person of Christ as it is shadowed forth in the New Testament Scriptures. If writings of a more conservative tone have been less frequently quoted, it may be remembered that,

for our purpose, what is admitted by scholars of more or less 'advanced' schools of thought is more important than statements of a traditional or apologetic character.

It is hoped that the book will be useful, not only to professed students of Theology, but to educated laymen. Passages from German works cited in the notes are, in nearly every case, translated into English, in order to make them serviceable to a larger circle of readers.

Our subject is of the highest moment to all serious thinkers. It has for some time engaged the attention of scholars, more especially in Germany. Scarcely a month passes without the publication of some work indicating the intense interest which it possesses for all thoughtful minds. Never, in the sphere of thought at any rate, have those words of the Saviour been so abundantly fulfilled, 'I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto Me' (St. John xii. 32).

The scope of the present work is indicated by the title. It is limited to the Person of our Lord. Topics of importance, such as the Redeeming Work, the Teaching, or the Example of Christ, are hardly touched upon. Attention is concentrated upon the Divine Figure Himself.

There is no doubt that a certain amount of un-

settlement is being caused by the thoroughgoing tests which are being applied to the Gospel history. Narratives that have helped to mould the religious life of generations of Christian people cannot be thus handled without producing pain and apprehension in many minds. Yet it is believed that the main result will be a great gain, and that the Person of the Son of God will, as the years pass, be seen in clearer outline and in more convincing reality than at any former period of Christian thought.

September, 1908.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

THE present is a time of much unrest. In many departments of thought and energy, a process of re-adjustment is going on. Things are in a state of transition. The result of all this intellectual movement will probably be a considerable change in the point of view from which educated men will regard some of the most important facts of human life.

All periods have been more or less transitional. Life and thought are becoming rather than being. And there is always a tendency to over-rate the unsettlement and movement of our own time. We cannot get far enough away to be able to see things in their true relation. Another factor, which hinders the attainment of a just estimate, is the well-known truth that those movements of thought which

are aggressive and which seek to disturb positions long held and prized, receive far more attention than processes of a constructive character. There is more stir and apparently more life in them. Attack is always more inspiring than defence, and the qualities which it enlists are, if not higher, at least more showy.

These observations are specially applicable to the Christian Religion and to the attitude towards it of thinking men. During its long history there have perhaps been only two epochs in which thought and interest have been so keenly aroused as they are at the present moment. One such time was that of the Reformation: the other was the age of the great Councils. Then, as now, the activity of thought was stimulated, if not actually caused, by the existence of some special intellectual movement. In the fourth and fifth centuries, it was philosophic speculation resulting largely in the production of heresies destructive of Christianity. In the sixteenth century, it was the revival and diffusion of classical learning. Now, it is the general advance and application of scientific knowledge and method.

In those earlier periods, the results were

mainly of a purifying, yet conservative character. In the process of eliminating foreign accretions from the deposit of the faith, reference was always made to the primitive standards of truth. Men sought for first principles. Authority was appealed to.

In the process of re-adjustment which is now in progress, a different course is being pursued. The Christian Religion is being subjected to an examination based, roughly speaking, on two factors. One is the comparative study of religions. The other is the critical study of the original Christian documents. The results of this examination it is impossible at present to forecast with certainty. It looks as if it would issue in some modification of the mode of statement, but not the substance, of beliefs which have become traditional in the Christian Church, leading in the end to a broader and therefore more truly philosophic foundation of the Christian Faith.

But whatever its issue, the process is going on. It is useless to resent the application of modern methods to the sources of our knowledge of all that we hold most sacred. We cannot—we should be foolish if we would—build a wall round certain districts of thought

and forbid all access. The more vital the truth we are investigating, the more we need to be sure that our representation of it is just and that we have not allowed any subjective tendency of thought, any fixed prepossession, or unfounded bias, to confuse our perception of it. If, by the application of all instruments at command, it should happen that some loss results; that we find we can no longer regard as part of the faith something which is dear from old association—we lose indeed in the bulk of our possessions, but there is corresponding gain in security of tenure, in sharpness of outline and in the clearness with which we can see what we are able to retain.

At the same time we must not lose sight of the dangers—not to the Christian Faith itself, but to its adherents—which are inevitable in a time of unsettlement like the present. The very fact that old and cherished matters of belief are being challenged and scrutinised is intensely painful and disturbing to many. Exaggerated statements are made; discussion and inquiry are characterised as doubt; while the enemies of Christianity lose no opportunity of making capital out of the process of examina-

tion and sifting which is everywhere going on. Hence it is the more incumbent on all who deal with what is sacred and vital to the average Christian man, to approach its consideration under a deep sense of responsibility. 'It must needs be' in this as in other matters of human concern, 'that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh.'[1]

But if our investigation is in pursuit of truth as its primary object, and is undertaken with a sense of responsibility towards God, towards the Church at large, and towards individual Christians, the motive will ensure a spirit of reverence in carrying it out. Only we have to look closely into the matter to be certain that that is our object. It is a question in which we may very easily be self-deceived. Of this the history of controversy affords many instances.

Our subject is the highest and most important that can be presented to human thought—the Person of our Redeemer, Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of God. It is the central point of Christianity. Everything revolves round that Person. Christianity is Christ.

That central point never moves; 'Jesus Christ

[1] Matt. xviii. 7.

is the same, yesterday, to-day and for ever.' But round about Him ebb and flow the changing tides of human thought and speculation. One age brings certain gifts of insight and knowledge and passes away, leaving it to others to approach the august Figure of the Crucified and form their estimate and take their side.

If we need to be reassured as to the fitness and propriety of such an approach to Christ, we have only to think of the way in which He invites consideration of His Person,[1] His claims, His authority. To each generation, the risen One comes with the command, 'Handle Me and see.'[2] He submits Himself to critical judgment. He will have us see for ourselves and not trust entirely to the report of others: for our knowledge of Him is a personal matter. We have to find Christ and be found by Him one by one. Others may clear the way, remove obstacles and bring us face to face, but in the last resort, our own hands must 'handle the Word of Life.' We must be able to say 'we have seen and bear witness.'[3]

It could not be otherwise, if Christianity is

[1] Matt. xvi. 13, 15. [2] Luke xxiv. 39.
[3] i. John i. 1, 2.

the religion of the Incarnation; if it be true that God has presented Himself to mankind in terms of humanity in order that man, by direct knowledge of Him in the form of flesh and blood, may get 'to see Him Who is invisible.'[1]

There are many ways of approaching the subject. In the present work, it is proposed to begin at the point of least resistance. Taking the admissions of advanced criticism as the bed-rock on which to lay our foundation, we shall go on to see what they imply. Beginning with sources of information admitted by all reasonable schools of thought, we shall proceed to others of less widely acknowledged validity, using them to strengthen the impressions gained from those more generally accepted, but not as of themselves sufficing to establish our case.

To some this method may appear too cold and cautious. Their faith leaps forward, appropriating at once the full truth to which we endeavour to advance. For instance, with complete confidence in the historical character of the narrative portions of St. John's Gospel, they would apply it at once to the elucidation of the mystery of Christ's Person. They are

[1] Hebr. xi. 27.

not content with the synoptic portrait of the Redeemer, and they chafe at any reluctance to use to the full a kind of evidence in which they see the truest delineation of His Form.

It is impossible not to respect this attitude; but in view of much of the 'liberal' criticism of the day, we believe it to be a surer and in the end more satisfactory plan, to work upward from a foundation which, if narrower, is the more solid. It is better to proceed slowly and cautiously, if in so doing we can carry with us reasonable seekers after truth, than to assume at the outset positions which would at once be contested, however rapid our progress may appear at first to be.

Accordingly, the sources of our knowledge of Christ will be discussed and an attempt will be made to form an estimate of their relative value. Next will have to be determined the methods of using them. After that we shall have to deal with the results of our inquiry, and finally to endeavour to arrive at what they mean.

CHAPTER II

THE SOURCES

ALTHOUGH not the earliest, the non-Christian sources of our knowledge of Christ may be conveniently considered first.

It comes as a surprise to some that the life and work of One whose appearance in the world constitutes so great a crisis in its history should have made—to judge by what has come down to us—so small an impression on the contemporary and immediately succeeding literature of the world, outside the community which He founded. Our Lord's contemporary Philo is altogether silent. In Josephus[1] there is one certain allusion of slight value. Tacitus,[2] in a famous passage, says of the

[1] *circà* A.D. 93, 94, *Antiq.* xxi. 9, 1; *v.* Wernle, *Die Quellen des Lebens Jesu*, 1904, p. 3; Kalthoff, *Das Christusproblem*, 1903, p. 44.

[2] *circà* A.D. 115-117, *Annal.* xv. 44. Kalthoff's statement (*op. cit.* p. 44), that Tacitus's mention of Christ only proves

Christians: 'The founder of that title, Christus, was put to death in the reign of Tiberius by the Procurator Pontius Pilate.' A still earlier allusion occurs in a letter of the younger Pliny. These are the only traces of Christ's life and work, in the contemporary and immediately subsequent literature of the world (outside the Christian literature), which has come down to us.[1] Of course, clear and definite allusions may have existed and may yet be discovered. Nothing is more probable. Meanwhile, is it not disconcerting to see how little evidence extraneous to Christianity and therefore, it may be supposed, wholly unbiassed in its favour, we have to appeal to? So, at first sight, it appears; but not if the circumstances are taken into account.

The younger Pliny is the first profane Roman writer who makes any clear and undoubted allusion to Christ. As governor of Bithynia and Pontus he writes[2] in about the year A.D.

that he had heard and appropriated the account of His death from Christian tradition, is without foundation.

[1] Suetonius, who wrote *c.* 120 A.D., speaks of Chrestus, meaning, as Loman (*v. infrà*, p. 13 n.) admits, Christ. *v.* Rovers, *Stemmen uit de vrije gemeente*, pp. 51-64.

[2] *Epist.* x. 96. As to the genuineness of the letter *v.* *Jahrbücher für Prot. Theologie*, 1891, p. 645, etc. Wernle,

104 to the Emperor Trajan, asking for instructions as to the treatment of Christians. In the course of his letter, he makes this remarkable statement: 'Affirmabant autem (Christiani), hanc fuisse summam vel culpae suae, vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die[1] ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo, quasi deo, dicere secum invicem, seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere sed ne furta, ne latrocinia ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent.'

As regards Philo, there is no doubt that he was acquainted with the existence of Christ and Christianity. He was in Palestine in A.D. 39 on business connected with an embassy to the Emperor Caligula. His knowledge of the religious life of Judæa was extensive, yet he is wholly silent both as to the Person of Christ and the early Christian Community. It is easy

Die Quellen des Lebens Jesu, p. 3, is perhaps correct in saying that the passage in Tacitus, *Annal.* xv. 44, is the first notice of Christ to be found in profane history. But the letter of Pliny is at least 11 years earlier, and if not part of an actual history, is certainly an historical document of primary importance.

[1] *i.e.* 'the Lord's Day.' Cf. Justin Mar., *Apol.* i. p. 82, ed. Bened.

to account for such an attitude of silence. He was a pious Jew. As such he would naturally shrink from allusion to One whom he believed to be a pretender and whose adherents at that date were still but a small and insignificant minority in the midst of the Jewish people. Christianity was still 'a sect everywhere spoken against,' if mentioned at all. Philo would consider that the best refutation of its claims which he could give, would be the refusal even to name it. At any rate, the silence of a hostile contemporary can never be alleged as disproving the historical reality of a Person or a Cause.[1]

Then as to Josephus. The same may be said of his evidently studious avoidance of the Name and Life of Christ. He casually mentions John the Baptist and in one passage,[2] which may well be authentic, he speaks of the death of James 'the brother of Jesus, who was called

[1] Cf. Renan, *Vie de Jésus*, p. xl. He thinks that Philo did not hear of Christ: 'Philon est vraiment le frère aîné de Jésus. Il avait soixante deux ans quand le prophète de Nazareth était au plus haut degré de son activité, et il lui survécut au moins dix années. Quel dommage que les hasards de la vie ne l'aient pas conduit en Galilée! Que ne nous eut-il pas appris!'

[2] *Antiq.* xx. 9, 1.

Christ.' The much discussed passage in *Antiq.* xviii. 3. 3, if containing, as is probable, some historic nucleus,[1] has been too much interpolated in the Christian interest to admit of citation. There is no other allusion. The explanation is not far to seek. 'Josephus was only too well aware that the Christians regarded the destruction of Jerusalem as the penalty of the condemnation of Jesus. He would not give them the satisfaction of bringing the fate of

[1] This is the view of Scholten in 'Flavius Josephus und Jesus' (*Theologisch Tijdschrift* for 1882, pp. 428-451), in which, in reply to Loman, who from the supposed silence of Josephus as to Christ, argued that He did not exist, he points out that the Christian Church is not named by Josephus and yet he must have become acquainted with it in Rome after 63 A.D. *v.* Van Manen in *Jahrbücher für prot. Theologie* for 1883 and Knowling, *The Witness of the Epistles*, p. 151. Cf. Renan, *Vie de Jésus*, p. xl: 'Je crois le passage sur Jésus (*Ant.* xviii. 3. 3) authentique dans son ensemble. Il est parfaitement dans le goût de Josephe, et, si cet historien a fait mention de Jésus, c'est bien comme cela qu'il a dû en parler. On sent seulement qu'une main chrétienne a retouché le morceau, en y ajoutant quelques mots . . .' Rovers in *Stemmen uit de vrije gemeente*, pp. 51-64, says, if the passage as a whole is not considered genuine by any competent critic, why does not Loman mention *Antiq.* xx. 9. 1? Josephus, if he knew of Jesus, was likely to be silent about Him. *v.* Van Manen, *op. cit.* p. 607, and *ib.* for 1844, pp. 562, 3.

Jesus into connection with these political combinations.'[1] Bousset,[2] who does not admit the authenticity of the reference to our Lord as brother of James, considers the silence of Josephus unimportant, adding, 'At the time when he wrote, Josephus must have known much of the Christians. If he does not mention them, it is because he does not wish to do so.'

To summarise this part of the evidence, we have in Jewish writers of the first century but one passing allusion to Christ. In profane literature, we have to wait for the opening years of the second century for the letter of Pliny and the brief mention in Tacitus. In the one case, the avoidance of reference is intentional. In the other case, the absence of reference during the first age is partly due to the writers'

[1] Wernle (*D. Quellen des Lebens Jesu*, p. 4) who has been speaking of Herod's downfall being regarded by the people as a punishment for the death of John the Baptist. 'The silence of Josephus does not imply ignorance on his part of Christianity, but only that to his mind it did not possess sufficient importance to deserve special mention, or that he thought it unwise to refer to the subject' (Schmidt, *The Prophet of Nazareth*, p. 181). Cf. Hausrath, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, i. p. 374, who considers it quite conceivable that Christ was unknown to Josephus.

[2] *Was wissen wir von Jesus?* 1906, p. 16.

contempt for an insignificant sect—as they held the Christian community to be—partly to their confusing it with Judaism. It must also be borne in mind that our knowledge of this subject is conditioned by the paucity of the documents which have come down to us.

Those who, notwithstanding such considerations, find the want of non-Christian evidence disturbing, need to be reminded that man for man the testimony of a Christian is at least of equal validity to that of a heathen or a Jew: while danger lent additional weight to its utterance.

When we pass to Christian literature, the change is at once apparent. We are met by a stream of evidence reaching back to about 20 years after the date of the Ascension. The earliest literary witness is St. Paul. 1 Thess. i. 1, the first of his writings which has come down to us, contains the first mention of our Lord to be found in all literature. There we see at its source the stream which was quickly to widen into the most copious literature which the world has seen. It is the first naming we possess of 'a Name which is above every

Name.'[1] Behind the written document, and reaching back still farther, lies the experience which it embodies. The Epistle presupposes the community founded on the same principles and practice which form the basis of the letter. Each writing takes us back to a far earlier state of knowledge. The great desideratum of contemporary evidence is supplied, contemporary in its experience, if not in its transmission to writing.[2] We have—as we shall see—first-hand information of Christ. But we must seek it elsewhere than in the earliest of the Christian writings; not in St. Paul, but in St. Mark. And here, a curious fact is to be noted. The earliest[3] Christian documents contain an organized and systematic theology; but little detail of incident and event. We get a Christology before we have a history: for although St. Paul is the first writer who speaks of our Lord, we cannot cite him for the earliest information as to His Life and Words. He only deals by slight allusion with the career and Ministry of Christ. His attention is fixed on the Death, Resurrection

[1] Phil. ii. 9. [2] But *v.* p. 63, note 1.

[3] That is, the earliest that have come down to us in their original form.

and Heavenly Life of the Son of God, and on the consequences which flow therefrom. He cares not to trace the steps which led to that result. Miracles are without interest to him; the teaching of Christ is only occasionally referred to. His gospel is almost contained in the verse 'Who was delivered for our offences and was raised again for our justification.'[1] And yet, paradoxical as it may seem—this later stage of Gospel history, which sums up all that St. Paul was concerned to deal with in his Epistles, was the Gospel that was preached by the earliest Christian teachers. It was the Crucifixion-Resurrection element of the story of Christ that made a Gospel possible, that made it necessary, that fired its first preachers. It was the Gospel at its highest, in the climax of its majesty and importance, which formed the starting point of the earliest oral teaching. We see this, not only from St. Paul's Epistles, but from St. Luke's account of the teaching of St. Peter at Pentecost and after. The suffering and death, with the 'glory' that 'followed,' form the kernel of the first Gospel to be preached among men, and they form it still. The glorified

[1] Rom. iv. 25.

Christ is presented to the world : the Resurrection is the central and decisive element. It at once challenged attention to the message and made it a Gospel.

But the narratives which form our four Canonical Gospels have a different end in view and pursue a different method. They set out—to quote St. Mark's first words—to give 'the beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ,' and through the various historical incidents of His Life and teaching, lead up to the climax. But if their method differs from that of the Pauline Gospel, their purpose is not contradictory. They aim at supplying an answer to the question naturally occurring to the hearers of the Gospel, as the first witnesses were passing away,—What manner of Person was this crucified and risen Jesus, in His life and conversation? If the first *preaching* of the Gospel deals with the chief Gospel element, the first written Gospels (so-called) trace the story of their Hero during His public Ministry ; or, to be more correct, they give incidents of that Ministry which enable us—not to form a consecutive and complete history but—to see what manner of life His was.

Therefore, for direct knowledge of Christ, we

must, if we would follow the true, historical course, go first to the Gospels. Through them we get into touch with the first impressions made by Christ on His contemporaries. We find recorded what Christ said of Himself and its effect on His hearers. He lives and moves before us. And there is another reason for consulting the Gospels before the writings of St. Paul. Not only do we have access to earlier experience and impressions of Christ, but we approach our Subject at an earlier stage of His career; seeing Him, as men first saw Him, as Man, as Friend and Teacher, before there dawned upon the mind the conviction that He was something more than these. This, as we shall see, is the natural order, as well as the historical one.[1] Christ came in

[1] That is, if we consider the fact that the literary expression of Christian experience is not the first form which that expression took. It presupposes a course of knowledge, meditation, oral announcement. It enshrines a stage of experience earlier than itself. And it is to this that we must go back, if we would know how Christ appeared to the men of His time. 'We must find the Gospel as it was received and preached before it was committed to writing. 'In the life time of Peter and Paul,' says Prof. T. Zahn, *Einleitung in d. N.T.* ii. p. 164, 'the possible existence of beginnings of evangelistic literature remained without perceptible influence on Church life; and up to the end of the first century, at any rate where

the flesh, presenting Himself in His humanity before the true character of His Personality could be apprehended. Its unfolding was gradual, and it is in the Gospels that we can trace the process and follow its stages.

As we advance, we shall illustrate what we find in the Gospel narrative by reference to St. Paul and other New Testament writers.

eye- and ear-witnesses were at hand, the Evangelic literature, which had up to then arisen or was understood to be commenced, was not considered as the chief source out of which the community had to fashion its knowledge of Christ's words and acts.' So Dr. H. Holtzmann, *Die Entstehung des N.T.* p. 14: 'There is no question that the proclamation of the Gospel was entrusted to the living Word. We must dismiss from our minds the paper world which now surrounds us. . . . The disciples were not bidden to sit and write, but to go and preach. The spoken word must do it and the Old Testament, as we see from St. Peter's speeches in the Acts, afforded the written text for this preaching.' While therefore, we have recourse to the Gospels as containing early impressions of Christ, we have to try to capture those impressions in their still earlier form, before they passed into Christian literature. We have to get at the experience which lay behind the writings. Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 67) marks the transition from oral to written authority in Christian tradition, where he speaks of the reading of the ἀπομνημονεύματα of the Apostles in the congregation assembled on the Lord's Day. *v.* B. Weiss, *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 1897 p. 41.

In accordance with the method described on page 7 we shall begin to analyse the sources and to take those which are admitted by all reasonable Schools of thought, as the starting point of our investigation.[1] The attempt will be made to show that, in those portions of the Gospel narrative which are thus received as undoubtedly authentic, there is to be found the highest possible conception of the Person of our Lord,—expressions which can only imply the Divinity of the Son of Man; and that if—which we do not for one moment admit—the results of criticism forbid us to refer to other portions of the Gospels, we should still be in possession of all we need for evidence of the Divine Personality of the Redeemer. We begin at what is universally admitted, that we may take up our position on unassailable ground. But having done that, we shall not hesitate to appeal to evidence which, if

[1] If 'reasonable' is considered too relative and question-begging an epithet, it may be observed that it is generally allowed that what is admitted by men like Harnack, Bousset, v. Soden, J. Weiss, etc. may be considered to belong to authentic tradition. The extreme Dutch School has never been able to influence the best thinking of Germany or of this country and is becoming more and more discredited even in Holland itself.

not so generally admitted, can yet make good claim to be heard.

Accordingly, our analysis of the Gospel sources of our knowledge of Christ is as follows:

I. Those portions of St. Mark which, embodying the substance of the preaching of St. Peter, are incorporated with slight alteration, if any, in the parallel passages of St. Matthew and St. Luke.

II. The remaining parts of St. Mark placed next for convenience, but of less authority than those specified above and than the source numbered III.

III. Speeches and sayings of Christ in St. Matthew and St. Luke, taken from a collection bearing the name and authority of St. Matthew, the Apostle.

IV. (*a*) Material special ('Sondergut') to St. Matthew.

(*b*) Material special to St. Luke.

V. St. John, to be used as stated below on p. 44.

Before we consider this analysis of the Gospel evidence, it should be noticed that two Gospels—St. Matthew and St. John—come to us with

the traditional repute of being the work of eye-witnesses of Christ, while for St. Mark and St. Luke no such claim is made.[1] But it is one of these latter which we must take as representing the oldest stratum[2] of evidence—the Gospel of St. Mark—or, as we shall see, a certain part of St. Mark. Nearly, if not quite equal in age is the substance of the non-Marcan material which is common to St. Matthew and St. Luke.

I AND II.

It is generally agreed that, taking the Gospels in their present form, that of St. Mark was the first to be written down. According to Irenaeus (*Adv. Haeres.* iii. 1. 1) this was after the death of St. Peter. If that death took place, as is usually believed, in A.D. 64, the earliest and, with respect to its contents, the latest date for the

[1] With regard to St. Matthew, *v.* p. 37. 'I believe myself that the author of the Fourth Gospel was an eye-witness' (Sanday, *The Life of Christ in recent Research*, 1907, p. 221).

[2] *v.* Pfleiderer, *Die Entstehung des Christentums*, 1905, p. 186: 'At the present time it holds good, as the assured result of the diligent investigation of the Gospels during the last century, that the Gospel of Mark is the oldest of the canonical Gospels, and that it forms the ground-work of the Gospels of Luke and Matthew.'

composition of the Gospel will be A.D. 65-70.[1] Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, a contemporary of Polycarp and, with him, a hearer of St. John the Divine, made, according to Eusebius,[2] the following statement. "The elder (*i.e.* John) said this: 'Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately everything that he remembered, etc.'" Irenaeus says:[3] 'Mark, the Disciple and Interpreter of Peter, delivered to us in writing, after the death of Peter and Paul, the things preached by Peter.'

[1] *v.* Zahn, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, ii. p. 164. 'Perhaps it appeared before the year 70 A.D.' Cf. v. Soden, *D. wichtigsten Fragen*, p. 22.

[2] *H. E.* iii. 39. 'Mark was "interpreter" of Peter in the sense that he conveyed in his Gospel Peter's teaching, not that he acted as interpreter to people of Peter's missionary preaching. Peter was master of Greek and did not require such interpretation.' Zahn, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, ii. p. 210. *v.* Lightfoot-Harmer, *Apostolic Fathers*, p. 529.

[3] *Adv. Haeres.* iii. 1. 1. Cf. Tertull. *adv. Marc.* iv. 5. *v.* Bousset, *Was wissen wir von Jesus?* p. 32. Justin Mar., *Dial. cum Tryph.* p. 106, no doubt refers to St. Mark's Gospel, when he assigns an incident which is only found in our Second Gospel, to the *Memoirs of Peter*, ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν αὐτοῦ (*i.e.* Πέτρου). Cf. B. Weiss, *Die Geschichtlichkeit des Markusevangeliums*, 1905, p. 6.; Swete, *St. Mark*, p. xxx.

According to these statements, the trustworthiness of which there is no reason to doubt, the main fabric of the Gospel of St. Mark is due to the constantly repeated preaching of St. Peter, written down from recollection and given to the Church, when the voice of the Apostolic Primate had been stilled by his martyrdom.[1]

This traditional evidence for its origin is neither confirmed, nor is it contradicted, by reference to the contents of the Gospel itself.[2] St. Peter appears in it early and late. While his good confession is faithfully recorded, so are the stern rebukes, which he received soon afterwards, and the three-fold denial.

But St. Mark had access to other sources of information. His Gospel is not wholly Petrine. His close intercourse with members of the primitive community must have given him a

[1] '(Mark) was and remained a "Son" of Peter (1 Peter v. 13) since, for a decade, he must have heard the narratives and speeches of Peter in the house of his mother (Acts xii. 12-17) before he entered the foreign mission service' (*i.e.* with Barnabas and Paul from A.D. 44 onwards). Zahn, *op. cit.* ii. p. 204.

[2] *v.* Wernle, *Die Quellen des Lebens Jesu*, p. 55. *v.* Mark, viii. 29, 32, xiv. 66-72. 'There is no doubt that Peter is especially prominent in this Gospel.' Jülicher, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, p. 319, E.T.

thorough knowledge of the facts requisite for his purpose, which, as he tells us (i. 1), was to write 'the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God.' v. Soden[1] endeavours to distinguish between the Petrine and the non-Petrine elements which compose the Gospel. Opinions vary as to his success. One thing is very certain. The attempt is provisional. To base an argument for or against a passage on the ground of its Petrine or non-Petrine source is quite unallowable. Some other test must be applied; for this alone is wanting in the requisite certainty.

But in accordance with our proposed method, let us take the bare Petrine element, as allowed by v. Soden, as our starting point, and see what it yields. It is as follows:—i. 4-11, John the Baptist and the Baptism of Jesus; 21-39, a Sabbath in Capernaum with many miracles. ii. 1—iii. 6, Causes of offence to the Jews (Forgiveness of sins, etc.). xii. 13-44, How the Jews tried to arrest Him. iii. 21-35, vi. 1-6, How Jesus everywhere encountered want of under-

[1] *Die wichtigsten Fragen im Leben Jesu*, p. 24. Though he does not include them in his detailed Petrine element, v. Soden admits that recitals of Peter lie at the foundation of the passages xi. 1—xii. 12 (the days of Jerusalem) and chapters xiv., xv. (the History of the Passion).

standing. iv. 1-9, 21-32, Parables of the Kingdom. x. 13-45, Who enters the Kingdom? i. 16-20, iii. 13-19, vi. 7-16, viii. 27—ix. 1, 33-40, the Development of the Disciples. xiii. 1-6, 28-37, Glances into the Future. v. Soden characterises these passages as fresh in local colouring, free from remarks intended to edify, always clear in meaning, redolent of the soil of Palestine. They aim at representing Christ as He was and as men received Him.

They are free from theological motive. Miracles are occasional and incidental.[1] They contain no ground for doubt as to their historical character.

The non-Petrine elements on the other hand, although composed by St. Mark, bear, according to this critic, quite a different character. We have a lengthy speech inserted among short, sharp expressions; a tendency to be dogmatic; a certain want of clearness; above all there are three great miracles (iv. 35—v. 43). These, says v. Soden, 'show many points of concord with Old Testament histories, occasionally with Pauline

[1] *Ib.* pp. 37, 38, 40. Cf. p. 41: 'The most severe and fundamentally mistrustful criticism would be powerless to raise any well-grounded doubt as to the historical character of these narratives.'

ideas, mirrorings of the experiences of individual believers and of the Church. . . . All these pieces were written down for the first time by the author of our Gospel.'[1]

[1] *Ib.* pp. 38-40: 'Sie alle . . . zeigen zahlreiche Anklänge an alttestamentliche Geschichten, nicht selten an Paulinische Vorstellungen, Spiegelungen von Erlebnissen der einzelnen Gläubigen und der Gemeinde. Sie zwingen dazu, durch Allegorisierung sie erst für den Hörer fruchtbar zu machen. Alle verraten sie das Interesse, Jesus als mit übermenschlicher Macht ausgestattet zu zeigen, so wie sie der Glaube der Christenheit dem erhöhten Herrn zutraute und im Verkehr mit ihm erlebte. Alle diese Stücke sind zweifellos von dem Verfasser unseres Evangeliums zum erstenmal niedergeschrieben.'

A. Schweitzer, *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, 1906, p. 302, severely criticises the arbitrary character of v. Soden's method of distinguishing between the 'Petrine' and the 'secondary' elements in St. Mark. He says: 'By means of this arbitrary method of dealing with the points of connection Schmiedel (*i.e.* Otto Schmiedel) and v. Soden pronounce it quite easy to distinguish between Mark and 'Urmarkus,' that is, to retain only that part of the Gospel which fits in with their construction.' As for v. Soden's detection of Pauline influence in St. Mark, Schweitzer observes, 'Es wäre doch einmal an der Zeit, dass man, statt immer paulinische Einflüsse bei Markus zu behaupten, solche nachweise.' And he asks, why should not the parts which do not deal with the supernatural contain Church theology and experiences converted into history? Only because they confine themselves within the limits of the natural? The difficulty consists in the fact that passages which von Soden suspects of being edited, 'stand in

Now, that certain portions of St. Mark's Gospel are due to experiences of disciples other than St. Peter is probable enough.[1] That he had access

strongly knit historical connection, so much so that the historic connection is nowhere so close as in those very parts.' The strength and soundness of Schweitzer's criticism can be easily tested by reference to the text of St. Mark. Coming from so acute and widely-read a writer, it is of extreme value, as applying not only to v. Soden, but to a whole school of writers whose methods are characterised by what Schweitzer calls 'dieser halber Skeptizismus.'

[1] 'Allowance must probably be made, especially in the last six chapters, for the use of other authorities, some perhaps documentary, which had been familiar to the Evangelist before he left the Holy City.' Swete, *St. Mark*, p. lxv. J. Weiss, *Das älteste Evangelium*, 1903, p. 95, considers that St. Mark owed something to St. Paul's influence: 'If one conceives of our Gospel just as it is, as the committal to writing of the apostolic announcement of Christ crucified and risen, if one comprehends it as a living whole, in the peculiar frame and spirit which the writer has imparted to it, one will notice how the ideas and interests of the Pauline circle are reflected in its pages. No one will wish to dispute this who regards John Mark as the writer of the Second Gospel. For this man was the pupil and intimate of Paul (Col. iv. 10, Phil. 24, 2 Tim. iv. 11, Acts viii. 5, 13; xv. 37, 39), and it would be in the highest degree remarkable if, in a work of his, there was no sign of the influence of the most masterful spirit among all his teachers.' Pfleiderer surely exaggerates the extent of St. Mark's indebtedness (if such there were) to St. Paul, *Die Entstehung des Christentums*, pp. 188 ff.

to sources of information equal in authority to that of St. Peter is certain. From his early residence in Jerusalem, he was in the closest touch with members of the primitive community. But when v. Soden gives his reasons for the distinction which he draws between Petrine and non-Petrine elements, he at once betrays the arbitrary character of his method. All 'edifying,' 'didactic' portions at once show that they do not belong to the Petrine nucleus. Why St. Peter should, in the course of his mission preaching, have been anxious to exclude whatever might instruct and edify, he does not stop to explain. 'Great miracles,' as contrasted with the few 'incidentally' occurring ones, are at once regarded as suspicious.[1] One has only to read v. Soden's description of the character of what he regards as the non-Petrine part of St. Mark, to see that his criticism suffers from that fault of 'tendency' which is so commonly laid to the charge of

[1] 'If we wish to exhibit *Urmarkus* while preserving the arrangement of our Mark, we must not draw a distinction between the natural and the supernatural elements, for the supernatural scenes, such as the Feeding of the Five Thousand and the Transfiguration, form chief stages in the outline of Mark (sind Hauptetappen im Markusaufriss).' Schweitzer, *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, p. 304, n 1.

portions of the Gospel records. He gives us no scientifically grounded analysis of the contents of the Gospel. Presuppositions are everywhere at work. He has first formed his conception of what a primitive Gospel should be, and places on a lower level of authority all that does not accord with that conception.

But, after this protest, let us take v. Soden's division of St. Mark and see what his 'Petrine' element yields, remembering that, in his words, 'the strongest fundamentally suspicious criticism can raise no well-grounded doubt against the historical character of these recitals.'

To sum them up briefly, we have the Baptism of our Lord with the supernatural accompaniments of the opening heavens and the voice of the Father and the abiding Spirit.

The healing of the man with an unclean spirit, of Peter's wife's mother, of the many at sunset, together with the testimony of the outgoing spirits to the Messiahship of Christ.

The healing of the paralytic, with the claim to forgive sins.

The healing of the man with a withered hand.

Christ claims for His words a permanence outlasting that of heaven and earth (xiii. 28-37).

Three facts stand out upon the surface of these recitals, the historical value of which is admitted to be beyond question. 1. The power to work miracles is attributed to Christ. 2. He claims authority to forgive sins. 3. To His words He imputes an Eternal significance and validity.

From the remaining portion of the Gospel, called by v. Soden non-Petrine, we get the following among other material :—

Three great miracles (iv. 35—v. 43).

Miracles of the healing of the leper, of the blind man at Jericho.

The feeding of the 5000.[1]

The walking upon the sea.

The Transfiguration and following miracle.

Now, there is nothing in these portions of the Gospel to warrant our attributing their origin to other than the Petrine source. If stress is laid on a distinction between 'the three great miracles' and those of the (Petrine) healings on the ground that the latter belong to a class of

[1] Yet this miracle has the fullest Gospel evidence of all, being related by all four Evangelists. *v.* A. Schweitzer, *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, p. 305, and *v. infrà*, p. 196, n. 2 and p. 210, n. 3.

miracle which, through advance of scientific knowledge is being gradually brought under the category of known, though little understood, natural law (suggestion, etc.) what shall we say of the occurrence of the (Petrine) Baptism passage? Can we say that the miraculous element is more pronounced in 'the three great miracles' than here? Clearly we have no power to discriminate in such a case, and any attempt to distinguish the primitive elements of the Gospel on this principle cannot succeed. There is nothing to show that the less miraculous is the more primitive element.

Nor is there greater prospect of success, if the attempt to distinguish between the Petrine and non-Petrine portions of the Gospel is based on the presence or absence of an edifying or didactic tendency.[1] A bare, simple narrative is

[1] How little ground there is for the distinction which v. Soden draws between the Petrine and non-Petrine portions of St. Mark on the score of a didactic tendency, may be estimated by reference to Dean Armitage Robinson's remark when speaking of the whole Gospel: 'St. Mark offers us scene after scene in quick succession with scarcely a single comment and with no desire to enforce a doctrine or a moral.' (Advent Lectures on *The Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel*, 1907.) Cf. B. Weiss, *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das Neue Test.* 1897, p. 484: 'Upon a Gospel,

not necessarily older than one written with a purpose; and before you argue on what is involved in the presence of a didactic element, you must be sure that it is not for the sake of that very element that the narrative is given.

But however this may be, v. Soden recognises the Marcan authorship of the Gospel as a whole and considers that the 'non-Petrine' as well as the 'Petrine' elements belonged to this earliest of the four Gospels as it was first promulgated.

which is manifestly intended to portray and to demonstrate, in which too the most unrestrained delight in narrative and portraiture so evidently prevails, a character for tendency can only be impressed, if one arbitrarily allegorises its historical representations, and in the most designing manner reads into it objects which are as far as possible removed from the naïveté of its narrator. This Gospel is certainly not a purely historical work, but was composed in the interest of religion and calculated to serve the needs of the Church. But its didactic aim has nothing to do with dogmatic questions, or with the controversies of the Apostolic age.' *v.* Salmond in Hastings, *D.B.* iii. p. 260: 'To give witness to Christ as the Messiah, no doubt, was in the purpose of Mark as in that of the other Synoptists. But beyond this Mark has no other object than to tell a simple story of things as they happened, and for the most part as Peter reported them to have been seen and heard.'

III.

It is generally admitted that our Gospel of St. Mark forms the historical groundwork of the First and Third Gospels,[1] whose writers used it with more or less freedom in composing their own.[2] As Wellhausen says: 'Mark is known to the two other Synoptic writers in the same form and with the same contents in which we possess it now.'[3] But, having access to other

[1] *v.* Wernle, *Die Quellen des Lebens Jesu*, p. 47: 'The chief result, Mark the source of Matthew and Luke, remains, through the fourfold series of grounds—material, arrangement, language, contents—adequately sure as the fair reward of a century of labour.' von Soden, *Die Wichtigsten Fragen im Leben Jesu*, p. 42: 'There is no doubt that in the case of both Gospels (Matt. and Luke) our Gospel of Mark forms the woof.'

[2] v. Soden, *op. cit.* p. 41, remarks that Matthew and Luke show great respect for the 'Petrine' parts of St. Mark, scarcely venturing to alter a word.

[3] *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, 1905, p. 57: 'Markus ist den beiden anderen Synoptikern schon in der selben Gestalt und in dem selben Umfang bekannt gewesen, wie wir ihn jetzt haben.'

On the other hand, Salmon, *The Human Element in the Gospels*, 1907, p. 494, says: 'I do not think St. Luke could have known St. Mark's Gospel as a written document; and . . . was, in my opinion, only acquainted with those portions of it which he had heard orally recited.' Most critics would agree with Wellhausen rather than with Salmon on this point.

primitive sources of information, they supplemented and occasionally altered the Marcan account.

A comparison of the First and Third Gospels shows the existence of a primitive source of the highest importance and authority, containing a record of Christ's speeches and sayings. As employed by the Evangelists, it must have been in the Greek language, for the expressions tally to some extent in both Gospels. External evidence confirms that of the Gospels themselves. Papias of Hierapolis states[1] that 'a collection of the sayings (of Christ) was made by Matthew in the Hebrew tongue and everyone interpreted them as he was able.' Here the separate interpretation of the Hebrew by individuals corresponds with the translation into Greek, which the evangelists, from internal evidence, appear to have used. So precious a collection accumulated by the Apostle would not be allowed to remain buried in its original Aramaic, but would naturally be made available for the use of the Greek-speaking communities. Its value and

[1] In Euseb. *H.E.* iii. 39. *v.* Preuschen, *Antilegomena* (1905), p. 94. Lightfoot-Harmer, *The Apostolic Fathers*, p. 517.

authority stand on the same level as that of the chief source which lies behind St. Mark. It goes back to the Apostle and eye-witness St. Matthew, as the source of St. Mark goes back to St. Peter.[1]

[1] *v.* v. Soden, *op. cit.* p. 62, who says (p. 61): 'This Ur-evangel speaks by its contents for its age and the authenticity of those contents.' It is often spoken of as the Logia (τὰ Λόγια). Wellhausen (*Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*) and others designate it Q. The similarity of expression in the matter common to the First and Third Gospels has perhaps been too strongly emphasized. V. Bartlet in Hastings, *D.B.* iii. p. 297, remarks: 'The strange divergence of the Logian elements in Matthew and Luke respectively seems inconsistent with a common written basis.' Harnack, however, writes, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, ii. 1907, p. 80: 'That one and the same Greek translation of an Aramaic original forms the basis of both Gospels is rendered certain by the large number of paragraphs which remain verbally identical. But as to unity and extent of the source we are as yet unable to express an opinion. The copy, which Matthew used, may have differed already in one point or another from the copy which was at the disposal of Luke.' Allen, 'St. Matthew' in the *International and Critical Commentary* (cf. Art. 'Matthew (Gospel)' in *Dictionary of Christ*, ii. p. 147) has shown that there are considerable differences in expression as well as in arrangement due, possibly, to the use by St. Luke of other sources of our Lord's sayings besides that of the Logia used by St. Matthew. The similarities between the two Gospels may be due in part to St. Matthew's Gospel itself being known

If we examine the portions of the First and Third Gospels which embody this primitive collection of Christ's sayings, we find, among other things, the following:[1]—

The 'Sermon on the Mount,' St. Matt. v.—vii; St. Lu. vi. 20—vii. 1. Our Lord here claims to have the last and decisive word on human life

to St. Luke. We must not leave out of account the influence of oral tradition. Many of our Lord's sayings and certain speeches must have firmly fixed themselves in men's memories, and played their part in forming and guaranteeing the original material used by the evangelic writers.

[1] The Temptation narrative of the First and Third Gospels is not included by v. Soden in his material attributed to the Logia. Allen (*St. Matt.* p. 31) assigns its source to unknown matter used by the two Evangelists. But Harnack, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, ii. p. 34 ff.), uninfluenced by consideration of the differences in the two accounts—a consideration which weighed with Allen—declares decidedly for its forming part of Q, observing: 'We see at once that we have to do with a text which is essentially the same. The chief point of difference is that in Luke the third temptation has become the second.' He adds: 'The text of the history of the Temptation in Q can, in my judgment, be exhibited with almost complete certainty; in nearly every part the special material (Sondergut) of each of the two witnesses appears as a secondary element.' p. 37. We have therefore high authority for deriving the record of the Temptation from Q.

and action. His recognition or rejection will, at the last day, save or condemn.

The healing of the centurion's servant, with accompanying sayings, St. Matt. viii. 5-13; St. Lu. vii. 2-10. Christ proclaims the fate of those cities and peoples who reject Him and His messengers. St. Matt. x. 5 ff., St. Lu. x. 1-16.

The casting out of a dumb spirit, by 'the Finger of God.' He reveals facts of the spirit world. St. Matt. xii. 22-30, 38-45; St. Lu. xi. 14-36.

These are given merely as specimens of the contents of this original Gospel source. Its authentic character may be regarded as one of the fixed points attained by criticism. For, as v. Soden says, [1] 'there is no ground for thinking

[1] *op. cit.* p. 61. Denn es ist kein Grund ausfindig zu machen warum später in den Gemeinden gerade solche Aussprüche, wie sie hier vorliegen, Jesu in den Mund gelegt sein sollten. . . . Sie (*i.e.* the 'Spruchsammlung') kann ihre Entstehung nichts anderem verdanken als dem Interesse eines Jüngers Jesu, die Aussprüche des verklärten Meisters, deren Ohrenzeuge er war, festzuhalten und denen zu vermitteln, die ihn auch verehren.'

Cf. Kühl, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, 1907, pp. 11, 12. 'The Gospels present us with a large number of sayings of Jesus and of traits in the picture of His life, which bear the impress of their genuineness (Unerfindbarkeit),

that such sayings as these must have been placed in the mouth of Jesus at some later date by the Christian community. . . . Their origin can be due to nothing else than the interest taken by a disciple in perpetuating and imparting to other adherents the utterances of the glorified Master, whose ear-witness he was.'

IV.

Material special to (*a*) St. Matthew, (*b*) St. Luke. Over and above the material of the First and Third Gospels derived from St. Mark and from the Logia (Q) there remains a considerable amount of material peculiar to each Evangelist (Sondergut), which, in all probability, is taken partly from the Logia, but mainly from other sources of which we have no definite knowledge.

(*a*) St. Matthew. The narrative of the Birth and Infancy of Christ (i., ii.).

and which are simply incomprehensible as productions of constructive legend, of poetic fancy, or of the creatively active dogmatism of the Church of a later age. . . . The community or member of a community of the Apostolic or sub-Apostolic age has yet to be discovered which, for example, was capable of composing the noble self-confession narrated in Matt. xi. 25 ff. = Luk. x. 21 ff. and placing it in the mouth of Jesus.'

The teaching on almsgiving and fasting in the Sermon on the Mount (vi.).

Certain sayings in xii. 5 ff., 11 ff., xviii. 10, xix. 10-12, xxv. 31-46.

Certain parables (xiii., xviii., xxi., xxv.).

The promise to St. Peter (xvi. 16 ff.).

(*b*) St. Luke. The Greek prologue (i. 1-5).

The strongly Jewish narrative of the birth of St. John the Baptist, the Annunciation, Birth, Infancy and Boyhood of Christ (i. 5—iii.).

Certain parables: eighteen out of the twenty-three which he records; among them that of the Good Samaritan, the Prodigal Son, Dives and Lazarus.[1]

Certain miracles: The draught of fish (v. 1-12). The raising of the widow's son (vii. 11-19). The healing of a woman with a spirit of infirmity (xiii. 11-18). The healing of a man with dropsy (xiv. 1-7). The healing of ten lepers (xvii. 11-20). The healing of Malchus's ear (xxii. 47-54).

Certain short sayings ('Augenblicksworte,' as Wernle[2] calls them): Satan's fall from Heaven (x. 18-21). Fire on earth (xii. 49). Reply to

[1] For a complete list see Plummer, *St. Luke*, p. xli.

[2] *D. Quellen des Lebens Jesu*, p. 79.

a brother (xii. 14). Reply to a woman's greeting (xi. 27). The message to Herod Antipas (xiii. 32), etc.

Certain short narratives: The names of the ministering women (viii. 2, 3). Samaritans refuse hospitality to Christ (ix. 51-57). Treatment of a would-be disciple (ix. 61, 62). The seventy disciples (x. 1 ff.). Mary and Martha (x. 38 ff.). The incident of Zacchæus (xix. 2-11).[1]

Certain sayings and narratives in the history of the Passion and Resurrection of Christ. The mere naming of these shows the incalculable debt which we owe to St. Luke: The agony in Gethsemane (certain details), (xxii. 43, 44). Christ sent to Herod (xxiii. 6-13). The daughters of Jerusalem (xxiii. 27-32). The first word from the Cross (xxiii. 34). The two thieves (xxiii. 39-44). St. Peter at the tomb (xxiv. 12; cf. St. John, xx. 3, 6). The walk to Emmaus (xxiv. 13-33). Christ appears to the eleven (xxiv. 36 ff.; cf. St. John, xx. 19-24). The Ascension (xxiv. 50 ff.).

How are we to estimate the historical value

[1] Wernle (*op. cit.* p. 80) speaking of some of these narratives, says: 'It is highly probable that Luke composed these valuable pieces of information out of a lost Gospel.'

of these portions of the Gospel narrative which are peculiar to St. Matthew, or to St. Luke? v. Soden applies the following test: 'So far as this separate material fits into the circle drawn by the two original Gospels,[1] it can be employed unhesitatingly to form an historical representation. We must at once abandon it when it lies outside that circle.' This test, if fairly used, cannot be objected to. Inconsistency with those portions of the Gospel narrative which come to us with the most complete attestation would reasonably throw suspicion on a passage: but the application of the test needs to be made with the greatest reverence and caution. The singly attested portions furnish us with some of the most assured historical data and bear upon the surface the most certain marks of their genuineness.[2] Besides, we do not know enough of the comparative value of the sources lying behind the 'Sondergut' to say that any failure to harmonise with the 'Ur-evangelien'

[1] *i.e.* the 'Petrine' Mark and the Logia element of the First and Third Gospels: but, as may be inferred from what has been said above, we should extend the term 'original Gospel' in the first case so as to include practically the whole of St. Mark (with the exception of c. xvi. 9-20).

[2] *v. infrà*, p. 152 n. 2, 154 n.

must necessarily place a passage out of the category of history. An apparent failure to fall into line with a passage of the highest attestation is not of itself sufficient to discredit a narrative; for the simple reason that we do not know enough of the attendant circumstances to say whether the seemingly opposing narratives are irreconcilable.

V.

The Fourth Gospel.

So far, we have been considering the historical character of the material contained in the Synoptic Gospels. Can we bring the Fourth Gospel under contribution in our study of the Person of Christ? In view of the divergence of opinion existing among scholars on the authorship and historical character of the Gospel, its evidence will not be used in these pages with the freedom with which that of the Synoptics is cited. It will be employed to illustrate, to confirm; occasionally to complete and elucidate results obtained from the other Gospels.

No position of first-rate importance in the argument will be made to depend upon it. What we shall endeavour to prove as to the

Person of our Lord will take its stand on the evidence supplied by the Synoptic Gospels.[1]

That our claim to use the evidence of the Gospel under these limitations may be willingly conceded, it is perhaps worth while to remind readers of certain admissions made by more or less 'advanced' critics on the Johannine problem. v. Soden[2] says: 'The Gospel of John affords expressions which must have actually come from

[1] But it must be remembered that in spite of the efforts of adverse criticism to depreciate the historical worth of this Gospel, its trustworthiness and importance as embodying the mature reflection of an eye-witness of Christ are fully recognised by scholars of the first rank. *v. infrà*, p. 81 ff. Renan, for instance, writes: 'En ce qui concerne le récit de la résurrection et des apparitions, le quatrième Évangile garde cette supériorité, qu'il a pour tout le reste de la vie de Jésus (*i.e.* over the Synoptic Gospels). *Les Apôtres*, p. ix. Cf. Kühl, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, p. 10: 'We professed Theologians (Theologen von Fach), even when we are so far convinced of the historical trustworthiness of the Fourth Gospel, have long been accustomed to treat scientific questions which concern some point in the Life or Teaching of Jesus in such a way that, in the first resort, we only allow the three first Gospels to speak, and then when they have spoken, put the question of the attitude of the Gospel of John towards the problem which is under discussion.'

[2] *Die Wichtigsten Fragen im Leben Jesu*, p. 64.

Jesus, and a still larger number, which are so entirely formed out of the Spirit of Jesus that they might well have originated with Him—if He had spoken the language of the Evangelist.' He also speaks[1] of the fact 'that authentic traditions have connected themselves with this Gospel.' Bousset[2] admits that if the Fourth Gospel may not be used as a primary source of information, yet it may come in as a secondary source.[3]

Much of the criticism directed against the historical character of the Fourth Gospel is based on superficial comparisons drawn between it and the Synoptics, comparisons which omit to take account of the difference of purpose of the several writings. For instance, Wernle says:[4] 'Seldom

[1] *op. cit.* p. 85.

[2] *Was wissen wir von Jesus?* 1906, p. 29.

[3] 'Apart from interpolations (v. 4, vii. 53—viii. 12) and the concluding chapter added by way of supplement, the work in form and substance, in arrangement and thought, is an organic whole without additions or omissions—'the seamless coat,' etc. Holtzmann, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, p. 431. Cf. Reynolds in Hastings, *D.B.* ii. p. 694; Loofs, *Die Auferstehungsberichte und ihr Wert*, p. 33.

[4] *Die Quellen des Lebens Jesu*, p. 18. But cf. Burkitt, *The Gospel History and its Transmission*, p. 237, 'The ideas

have two men ever spoken more unlike one another than the Synoptic and the Johannine Jesus.' St. John had before him the three first Gospels. Writing, as he did, a long time after the events which they narrate, and with a specific object before him, we should at once be prepared for difference of treatment. His object was so to present Christ as to call out belief in Him, that through belief men might have Life.[1] The Synoptic Gospels, on the other hand, set out with no such precise end in view. In their original form ('Petrine' Mark and the Logia) they record incidents and sayings of Jesus of Nazareth. To condemn as untrustworthy a far later writing, composed with quite a different object, because the portrait of the hero is differently coloured and because of the presence of theological inference, is to deal unfairly with the facts. Indeed, in the case of the Fourth Gospel, the presence of theological inference, the constant insistence on the value of the Person of

(of the Fourth Gospel) are the ideas which animate the sayings in the Synoptic Gospels.' J. Weiss, *Das älteste Evangelium*, p. 97, 'The Christology of Mark stands far nearer to that of John than people usually admit.'

[1] Jo. xx. 30 ff.

Christ and the Christian's attitude towards Him, is, when we consider the purpose of the Gospel and the circumstances under which it was written, a guarantee of its genuineness. A disciple and eye-witness of such a character as the writer, in reviewing from the distance of old age the scenes and incidents which had formed the subject of life-long meditation, could not fail to show his sense of the eternal significance of Christ. Thus his history, while vividly true and accurate in its local knowledge[1] and in its presentment of striking incidents, is so woven into the texture of his own devout thoughts and beliefs, that we

[1] Dr. Sanday, *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 129, justly censures v. Soden for saying (*D. Wichtigsten Fragen*, p. 9) 'The entire absence of Palestinian local colouring betrays the distance at which the writer stands from historic reality.' The many instances to the contrary will at once occur to the memory of every reader of the Fourth Gospel. Cf. Latham, *Pastor Pastorum*, p. vii. B. Weiss, *Das Leben Jesu*, i. p. 86, 'Throughout he shows himself accurately acquainted with the localities of Palestine.' The famous traveller and geographer, K. Furrer, says of the author of the Fourth Gospel: 'He must have been a writer who was acquainted with the home of Jesus through personal inspection, so that we at once have the feeling that, in his narratives, we have to do with occurrences which we might have looked upon with our own eyes.' *Das Leben Jesu Christi*, p. 19.

cannot always say where the record ends and the soliloquy begins.[1] It would be a psychological impossibility for such a disciple, at such a distance in time, to tell the story of the Saviour in the form of a bare narrative without letting his own convictions appear. No evidence of theological inference should be allowed to cast suspicion on its authority in the matters of fact which it narrates.[2] When Wernle[3] writes: 'The difference between the two portraits of Christ can be brought under the simple formula, Here (in the Synoptics) the Man; There (John) the God;' he sacrifices accuracy to the desire to be epigrammatic. For while, as we shall see, the Divinity of Christ shines out of the pages of the Synoptic Gospels, the humanity of Christ

[1] *e.g.* iii. 16-22.

[2] Zahn (*Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, ii. p. 162) says: 'According to the state of the facts which we can recognise from a comparison of our Gospels with the common tradition as gathered from the remaining N.T. Scriptures, the three first Gospels have no greater claim to be an accurate or complete expression of the tradition of Christ's words or acts, existing in the Apostolic Communities, than the Fourth Gospel.' This is a strong statement, but it proceeds from one who is second to none in knowledge of the subject.

[3] *D. Quellen des Lebens Jesu*, p. 25.

is nowhere more apparent than in the narrative of St. John.[1]

[1] 'In no early Christian document is the real humanity of Jesus so emphasised as in the Fourth Gospel.' F. C. Burkitt, *The Gospel History and its Transmission*, 1906, p. 233.

CHAPTER III

METHODS OF INQUIRY

We have next to consider how we can best make use of the sources of our knowledge of the Person of Christ. In studying a great personality there are two fields of inquiry open to us. There is his self-witness—what the subject says of himself and his purpose in life; and there is the witness of other people.[1]

As to the first of these methods, the amount of evidence available depends largely on the disposition of the person. Some people are open and unreserved. Others speak little of themselves and of their aims. But in all cases, every indication of a true unveiling of self must be carefully noted. A man is to be credited with

[1] In the present chapter, the sources which appear to contain the transcendental aspect of our Lord's Person will alone be taken as the object of inquiry.

being the best authority as to his own motives and as to the view of life which he takes for himself, unless it can be proved that he is the victim of self-deception. This self-report, in any case, requires checking by reference to the impression which he makes on his contemporaries; and where passion or party feeling take from the value of contemporary judgment, the impression made on the following generation becomes of high importance.

In both of these lines of inquiry as directed on the Person of our Lord, there is ample material for forming an estimate. He speaks definitely and fully of Himself. The impression which He made on His contemporaries is profound; while as regards the judgment of the next generation, the evidence is equally striking and complete.

1. What does our Lord say of Himself? It will be well to confine ourselves at first to the report contained in the 'Petrine' part of St. Mark with its Synoptic parallels—the primitive Gospel admitted by all to be authentic.[1]

He claims authority to forgive sins (ii. 5-10, Matt. ix. 2 ff., Lu. v. 17 ff.). It is the first time that such tremendous words had fallen from

[1] Cf. p. 31.

human lips. Not only had no prophet dared to utter them, but, as Dalman shows,[1] Judaism, at no period of its history from that of the Old Testament to the present, has claimed such a power for the Messiah.

In the same connection (ii. 1-11) He asserts His possession of miraculous power and in many passages belonging to this original Gospel narrative, we have accounts of His Miracles.

In the same passage (ii. 10) He uses for the first time[2] the self-designation 'Son of Man.'

He claims the right to legislate for Sabbath observance and the power to abrogate it, if requisite (ii. 27, 28).

He promises to rise again the third day, after foretelling His coming Passion (viii. 31, Matt. xvi. 21, Lu. ix. 2).

He claims for his words a permanence greater than that of heaven and earth (xiii. 31, Matt. xxiv. 35, Lu. xxi. 33).

He accepts the title of Messiah (viii. 29, Matt. xvi. 17, Lu. ix. 21).

[1] *Die Worte Jesu*, pp. 214, 215, in opposition to J. Weiss's statement (*Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes*, 1892, p. 57): 'None of His opponents have doubted that the Messiah had this authority (to forgive sins).'

[2] *i.e.* in the Synoptic narrative.

Passing over for the present the non-Petrine portion of St. Mark we come to the Logia (Q) element of the First and Third Gospels, having behind it the collection of our Lord's sayings and speeches attributed to the Apostle and Eye-witness, St. Matthew.[1]

What does Christ say of Himself in this (equally with Petrine Mark) undisputed piece of Gospel?

In the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v.—vii., Lu. vi. 20—vii. 1) He takes upon Himself to abrogate the Law, where necessary,[2] to deepen and enlarge its meaning and application, to fulfil and spiritualise it, where He holds it to be of universal obligation. He handles the most sacred part of the ancient Scriptures of His people with a freedom which no prophet however highly empowered would have ventured to employ. He legislates for the new world as God, through the Mosaic dispensation, had legislated for the old. With an authority that we can only characterise as presumption, if it were not Divine, alike in its origin and its sanction,[3] He gives utterance to principles, which

[1] Cf. pp. 35 ff. [2] *e.g.* The 'Lex Talionis,' v. 38.

[3] It is often said by people impatient of dogma, 'Give us the Sermon on the Mount; that suffices for our guid-

can never become antiquated and never need to be superseded, in language which the conscience of men, in every succeeding age, has acknowledged to be the last word on human life and conduct. That majestic utterance, six times repeated, 'But I say unto you,' carries with it at least the pretension to speak as from the very Throne of God.

Self-assertion is still more pronounced in Matt. vii. 21-24 (cf. Lu. vi. 46). The final destiny of man will depend on whether or not he is recognised and owned by Christ 'at that day.'

In Matthew xi. 27 = Luke x. 22, we have an assertion of knowledge which carries with it far more than is apparent on the surface. Setting Himself over against the Father, He declares that the knowledge of the Father and of the Son is mutual and similar. It is therefore coeval and implies the pre-existence of the Son. In this passage, belonging be it remembered to

ance. We can do without Creeds.' They fail to see that the Sermon contains, by implication, in the self assertion of its Preacher, the central dogmas of the Christian Faith. You cannot interpret the Sermon on the Mount without answering the question, Who and What is He Who uttered it? The reply must constitute dogma.

the earliest stratum of Gospel tradition, we have a Self-estimate of Christ as comprehensive and far reaching as any contained in the Gospel of St. John. The significance of the passage in the study of the Person of our Lord cannot be ignored.[1] It is the highest point attained by His Self-witness and it comes from a source which cannot honestly be disputed.

So far, we have extracted from the two primal, undisputed Gospel sources—Petrine Mark and the Logia (Q) element of Matthew and Luke—certain assertions by our Lord which bear upon His own Person. We overhear Him talking of Himself. When we come to deal with the results of our investigation, we shall have to consider what contribution to a knowledge of Christ from His own lips is afforded by the special matter of Matthew and Luke, the 'non-Petrine' Mark and the Fourth Gospel. At present it will suffice to call attention to the above universally acknowledged instances of His Self-witness.

2. The report of contemporaries. Next in

[1] *v.* further, p. 161 ff. 'It contains the whole of the Christology of the Fourth Gospel.' Plummer, *St. Luke* x. 22. Allen (*St. Matthew* xi. 27) draws attention to the *aorists* in xi. 25-28 as denoting 'pre-temporal acts of God wrought in the prehistoric "beginning" or eternity.'

importance to what our Lord says of Himself is the evidence of those with whom He lived. That evidence is of two kinds. It comes from friends and from foes.[1]

It is difficult—if not impossible—for us, with nineteen centuries of Christian experience behind us, to place ourselves at the stand-point of the first followers of Christ and to realise the conflict, which the advancement of such claims as we have just noted must have produced in their minds. As we shall see, those claims involved the assertion of Divine prerogatives. What must have been their effect on the disciples? As Jews they knew that, in the long process of their people's history, belief in the Unity, the solitary Majesty of God, was the dearly bought possession, which it had taken centuries of struggle and suffering to secure for them. The winning and the holding of that truth was their task in world-history, and anything that

[1] There is also the evidence of demons. Whatever may be our explanation of the incidents connected with our Lord's casting out of evil spirits, we have to reckon with the attested fact that the spirits in the moment of their expulsion acknowledged Him as Son of God, and (which is strong proof of the authentic character of the narratives), were rebuked for their acknowledgment.

seemed to go back upon it would stand self-condemned. How then did the claims of Christ gain a hearing, when the mere idea of One possessed of Divine prerogatives moving among them would appear to be a suggestion of Satan?

It has perhaps never been fully realised how great a step must have been taken, when the idea came even to be entertained and considered, nor how gradual and hesitating must have been the process of conversion from the idea as idea to belief in a fact of binding authority.[1] For Jewish disciples to receive our Lord as He claimed to be received, the first principles of the old faith had to be abandoned; not because His claim was opposed to them, but because, as interpreted by the traditional standards, they seemed to forbid it.[2]

Can we trace the steps by which the change was effected? If so, we shall see something of the way in which the greatest advance in the spiritual history of mankind was made.

[1] Cf. Mason in *Cambridge Theological Essays*, p. 423.

[2] *v.* Jo. v. 18, x. 33. Cf. Wernle, *Die Quellen des Lebens Jesu*, p. 29. 'The Evangelist must now hear and meet the reproach of the Jews: "Christians have departed from their Monotheism. They worship two gods."'

From 'Petrine' Mark, we get the following, among other, indications of the way in which the Person of Christ came to be regarded as in some sense One with God, or at any rate as endowed and empowered as no other man had been :—

i. 27. Amazement at His power over unclean spirits.

i. 17. His influence over the disciples to draw them away from their occupations.

i. 22. Their astonishment at the authority with which He taught.

ii. 12. Wonder at His healing of the palsied man.

x. 28. Disciples forsake all to follow Him.

x. 32. Amazement of the disciples as they follow Him on the way to Jerusalem.

viii. 29. St. Peter's confession, 'Thou art the Christ.'[1]

These instances of the effect of companionship of Christ with His disciples belong to the

[1] Cf. Luke ix. 20. St. Matt. (xvi. 16) adds 'the Son of the Living God'—ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος. Against Dalman's (*Die Worte Jesu*, p. 224) contention that this is an unauthorised addition to the text, Dr. Sanday shows reason for thinking that the words are original and probably derived from the Logia. (Hastings, *D.B.* Article 'Son of God,' vol. iv. p. 572).

primitive tradition, and present an entirely trustworthy picture of the early stages of His conquest of the minds and hearts of those who followed Him.

We have next to review the evidence of hostile contemporaries, and of those (other than disciples) brought into contact with Him.

St. Mark i. 22. A Sabbath in Capernaum. 'They were astonished at His doctrine.'

i. 27. 'They were all amazed.' They acknowledged that unclean spirits obey Him.

ii. 12. After the healing of 'the sick of the palsy,' 'they were all amazed and glorified God saying, We never saw it on this fashion.'

iii. 22. Scribes from Jerusalem own that He casts out devils.

vi. 1-6. Astonishment of the people of Nazareth at His wisdom and works.

Thus from Petrine Mark comes evidence of wonder, on the part alike of friends and foes, at His power, wisdom and beneficence.

In the present chapter, the methods by which the Gospel sources will be employed are thus briefly indicated. When we come to deal with the results of our inquiry, we shall have to go more into detail and to bring into use evidence of a later kind than that now adduced.

Meanwhile, to sum up the present position, it has been shown by appeal to sources universally recognised, firstly, that our Lord, according to His own Self-witness, stood in an unique relation to God, claiming and exercising supreme authority among His fellow countrymen and in the spirit-world ; secondly, that He came by degrees to be owned by His followers to be the Christ, the Son of the Living God ; thirdly, that friends and enemies agreed in admitting His power and wisdom.

CHAPTER IV

JESUS CHRIST, AN HISTORIC PERSON

If we use our sources of knowledge according to the method above indicated, we arrive at certain main results. The first of these is that Christ comes before us as an historical Personage living, a Man among men, at a definite time. He is Jesus of Nazareth, called the Christ.

It may seem an insult to the intelligence of persons of ordinary education to occupy time in showing that we have historic proof of the Personality of Jesus Christ; that when we speak of Him, we deal not with the embodiment of a conception, but with an actual Person, Who lived and died at a certain period. Yet, such is the eccentricity of a certain class (if not a school) of criticism, that doubt has been cast on this all-important point: and the question once raised requires to be met. As in physiology, abnormal

developments are occasionally to be met with and are thought of sufficient interest to be preserved in museums, so in the province of history, grotesque and eccentric theories will sometimes deserve mention, if only it be to serve as warnings against the consequences of unhealthy prejudice and warped methods of inquiry.

In weighing the evidence for the historical certainty of our Lord's life on earth and of the fact that He did and said certain things, there is a disposition on the part of some critics to demand a kind of proof which is never required in other lines of historical investigation. Of how few of the great figures of early times do we possess contemporary written evidence! But the absence of such documentary proof does not for a moment weaken our belief in the existence of men whose personality lives in the achievements attributed to them by later writers. Instances will at once occur to memory. Yet the supposed [1] absence of any contemporary writing has been

[1] This expression is used in view of the interesting hypothesis of Sir W. M. Ramsay (*Expositor* for May, 1907) that the Matthaean Logia (Q) were written down in the lifetime of our Lord and constitute our oldest Evangelic document. Harnack, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, ii. 1907, p. 171, says that Q is older than Mark,

held by some to countervail the mass of evidence of every other kind which has come down to us, and this notwithstanding the fact that our Lord's public life was of the short duration of three years at the most. Taking the literary characteristics of the age into account, it would have been remarkable if during that brief time anyone had

but adds that 'if Q had been long in circulation, we could not understand how Mark did not know it, or use it although he wrote at a distance from Palestine.' On the other hand, Bousset considers that the Gospel of Mark presupposes the existence of the Logia; for unless such a collection were lying before him, we could not understand his not incorporating in his Gospel the many sayings of our Lord which were current at the time. *Was wissen wir von Jesus?* p. 34. 'The Christian Church has always regarded the life and death and resurrection of Jesus Christ as equally historical facts, because they have been transmitted by a continuous tradition, dating ultimately from the testimony of eye-witnesses recorded and emphasised in practically contemporary documents—documents, that is to say, either written by or in close connection with the eye-witnesses themselves.' Illingworth, *The Doctrine of the Trinity*, 1907, p. 37. Salmon, in a remarkable passage, *The Human Element in the Gospels*, 1907, p. 274, takes a view similar to that of Ramsay cited above. Speaking not only of Q but of the sources of the Synoptic narratives generally, he writes: 'The more I study the Gospels the more convinced I am that we have in them contemporaneous history; that is to say, that we have in them the stories told of Jesus immediately after His death, and which had been circulated and, as I am

committed to writing a report of the 'Rabbi,' who went about healing and teaching. The significance of His Person was, on the showing of the Apostles themselves, only realised fully after the Resurrection: if it had been understood earlier, the necessity for committing impressions to writing would not have appeared, so long as eye and ear-witnesses in abundance could narrate what was said and done. The custom of writing a biography of a living person is a modern one.[1] The

disposed to believe, put in writing while He was yet alive.' A judgment of this character arrived at independently by two such scholars is worthy of every consideration. The fact that Q contains few, if any, of the sayings of the Passion time (cf. Harnack's construction of the Text of Q in his *Beiträge zur Einleitung in d. Neue Testament*, ii. p. 102), makes it highly probable that, as a document, it had been compiled before the closing days of the Saviour's earthly life.

[1] *v.* Holtzmann, *Die Entstehung des N.T.* p. 14. 'There is no question that the proclamation of the Gospel was entrusted to the living Word. We must dismiss from our minds the paper world which now surrounds us. . . . The disciples were not bidden to sit and write, but to go and preach. The spoken word must do it and the Old Testament, as we see from St. Peter's speeches in the Acts, afforded the written Text for this preaching.' Cf. J. Weiss, *Das älteste Evangelium*, p. 14. Speaking of the absence of biographical interest in St. Mark, as shown in the omission of any history of our Lord's Childhood, he says: 'This plan of writing, which appears so self-evident to us

absence, if absence there be, of such a record in the case of our Lord is no argument against His existence. His Person and Life are of such transcendent importance, that we may wonder why some records of undoubtedly contemporary origin have not conveyed to us His appearance, His doings and sayings. But it may well be that such a need was not felt at the time; or, if felt, met in a way which has not survived to the present. Meanwhile it is to be remembered that whether or not we have written contemporary evidence, we have the evidence of contemporaries which was committed to writing not long after the earthly life had closed.

Yet Kalthoff[1] can quote Professor Kähler of Halle, whom he calls 'a representative of Church orthodoxy' as saying that 'we possess no single authentic word of Jesus'; and Professor Steck of Berne,[2] 'a representative of Church Liberalism,'

modern people, was far removed from Mark.' Again, p. 15, Weiss adds: 'But not only is the bodily appearance not portrayed; a description of the character of Jesus is also wanting. . . . What need is there to bring forward and paint separate virtues, where the whole form is the picture of perfection? The character of Jesus is His Sonship of God.'

[1] *Die Entstehung des Christenthums*, 1904, p. 1.

[2] Cf. Bousset, *Was wissen wir von Jesus?* p. 18.

as writing that 'we have no unimpeachable certainty for a single word of the Gospels that it was thus and not otherwise spoken by Jesus.' And Kalthoff himself assures us[1] that the fact that Christianity must not be considered as the work of an individual religious Founder, and that the origin and essence of Christianity must not be sought in an historical Jesus, stands firm for all who are in some degree conversant with the methods of modern historical science.

If Kalthoff's contention could be made out, we should be deprived not indeed of an historic Jesus,[2] but of the Personality of Jesus of Nazareth

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 3. Cf. du Bose, *The Gospel in the Gospels*, p. 9.

[2] Kalthoff does not deny that Jesus existed, but that the Jesus of Christian belief had any place in history. According to Schweitzer, *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, 1906, p. 312, Kalthoff's belief was, 'Jesus von Nazareth hat nie existiert.' But Kalthoff himself writes: 'In the matter of the historic Jesus, we have not to do with the question whether once upon a time there lived a Jesus Who came forward with a claim to be the Christ, in the Messianic tide which flowed so strongly (in der grossen Messianischen Flut), but with the question whether the historical character of this Jesus can still be recognised in the New Testament Gospels and whether we can place Him at the rise of Christianity as the Founder of the Religion,' *op. cit.* p. 23. Cf. J. S. Mill, *Three Essays on Religion*, p. 253: 'It is of no use to say that Christ, as exhibited in the Gospels, is

as He is made known to us in the New Testament, and as He lives in the experience of nineteen centuries of Christianity. If there exists no certainty as to any word or deed of Christ as an historical Personage, He must recede into the shadowland of poetry and fiction. As our Lord and Saviour, He must cease to be.

But apart from such and similar assertions, showing as they do an utter lack of all historic sense, we can appeal not only to the unbroken tradition of Christendom but to the testimony of bitter enemies, Jewish and Pagan, of the Christian Faith—to the account which the Christian Church has always given of its origin [1]—to the existence of customs and practices which

not historical and that we know not how much of what is admirable has been superadded by the tradition of His followers. . . . Who among His disciples or their proselytes was capable of inventing the sayings ascribed to Jesus or of imagining the life and character revealed in the Gospels? Certainly not the fishermen of Galilee; as certainly not St. Paul, whose character and idiosyncrasies were of a totally different sort; still less the early Christian writers.'

[1] A great historical institution must be allowed to possess some trustworthy knowledge of the cause and manner of its coming into being. To refuse this is to descend to the very bathos of criticism.

professedly owe their inception to the personal authority of Christ[1]—above all to those portions of the Gospel narrative which are admitted by all responsible critics to contain the authentic evidence of contemporaries of Christ.

Now, to endeavour to negative the effect of this mass of evidence by alleging the fact—if fact it be—that no narrative exists which was written down during the public ministry of Christ, is to play fast and loose with every sound principle of historical criticism. On such a principle, we should have to re-write history and abandon as fictitious a large part of the intellectual possessions of mankind. Test many of the universally received accounts of persons and events of ancient and mediæval history by such a demand as that made on the story of Christ and you would have to admit that you could not substantiate them. One result would be a general confusion in our conception of the processes of historical evolution. We could not say how things have come to be as they are. We should have to deal with patent phenomena of which the antecedents would

[1] Cf. Dean Armitage Robinson, *Guardian* for 1905, p. 2120.

be for ever undetermined. This would mean a serious intellectual loss; but it would be as nothing compared with the loss which humanity would suffer if it could be shown that we possess no authentic account of the Founder of the Christian religion, and that the Saviour of men—so far from having any standing ground in sober history—is the creation of poetic fancy.

The absurdity of the conclusions into which a well-informed thinker who lacks common sense, can be landed, is usefully shown by Kalthoff's paradoxical attitude towards the sacred history. Such methods of criticism have commanded, and will command, no general adhesion. Their unscientific character has been well exposed by Professor Bousset.[1]

But the trustworthiness and authenticity of the New Testament witness to Christ has, however unscientifically, been disputed by a section of critical thought, which, although it has attracted no serious adhesion, is yet calculated to cause uneasiness; not from the strength of its position, but because, on so vital a question, the least

[1] *Was wissen wir von Jesus?* He speaks of Kalthoff's customary confidence 'which stands always in his case in inverse ratio to the soundness of his contentions,' p. 40.

breath of doubt or suspicion must seem intolerable. It will therefore be worth while to state some of those considerations which establish the historic character of our Lord, and to show that, as His Church has always held, in Him we have to do with a real Person.

Jesus Christ comes before us as a Man living at a certain period.[1] It is remarkable that the earliest account of His life and doings, that of St. Mark, deals entirely with His open, public career.[2] We must turn to later records (St. Matthew and St. Luke), to find that correspondence with our modern style of biography, which traces the story of the hero from his birth and describes preceding incidents, giving the circumstances and atmosphere into which he is born.

[1] Some difficulties of Gospel chronology have never been satisfactorily cleared up, but a fairly general agreement as to the year of Christ's birth has been arrived at—B.C. 7, or early in B.C. 6. *v.* Hastings, *D.B.* i. p. 405, with which Sanday (*ib.* ii. p. 610) agrees. *v.* Plummer, *St. Luke*, iii. Bousset, *Jesus*, p. 5.

[2] This is the case both as regards the beginning and the close of His earthly life, but in the latter portion the omission is due to the loss of the concluding verses, xvi. 9—end of the Gospel. For their reconstruction *v.* S. Rördam in *Hibbert Journal* for July, 1905.

St. Mark's own words explain his method. He is not intending to write an orderly biography. What he wishes is to make known the Message of good news, the Gospel of Jesus of Nazareth; and in i. 1 he gives a concise description of the contents and object of his recital. He is not so much interested in the Life itself, as in the meaning and consequences of the Life. His object is not to write the history of a Person, but to show, by a few characteristic examples of His acts and teaching, what was the work which He came to do and the message which He came to bring. Now, in the course of carrying out this purpose, he gives certain descriptive touches showing a minute knowledge of the incidents recorded which could only have been gained from eye-witnesses. Thus his Gospel, though not professing to be a complete account, is historical in the full sense of the term.[1]

Taking the 'Petrine' portion of the Gospel as the bed-rock of its historical element, we get the following matter-of-fact recital. To John

[1] The following are instances of minute and accurate knowledge :—i. 31, ii. 4, iii. 5, v. 32, vi. 40, vii. 30, viii. 12, ix. 24, x. 16, 50, xii. 15, 16, xiv. 72, xv. 36, etc.

the Baptist, who was baptizing in the wilderness, a great multitude of people came out and, among them, Jesus of Nazareth in Galilee. He was baptized like the rest. Now, two points in this narrative require special notice. Written down, as it was, only a generation after the events recorded, it challenged contradiction from the large number of people still living who took part in them. The writer would not have placed in the forefront of his Gospel a statement so easy of verification or contradiction unless it had been true. The Baptism of our Lord has therefore a firm historical setting. It has a place in a movement which, from its remarkable character and from the multitude of people who took part in it, would be well known and often referred to as years went on.

The other point to be noticed is the way in which the circumstances of the Baptism confirm its historical truth.

They are not what a writer of fiction would have invented. A writer inclined to magnify his hero would have shrunk from so questionable an incident as that of his baptism. It seemed at once to place him on a level with other men. Christ comes out, one among a motley crowd of

the roughest and lowest of the people, and claims baptism as if He, as well as they, needed the purifying lustration![1] No inventor would have thus prejudiced his work at the outset. The story is so unlike what he would have written. It thus guarantees its own truth, and the incident of the Baptism is recognised by critical thought as among the fixed points of the career of Christ.

Another fact of historic importance is the call and subsequent instruction of the Twelve (St. Mark, i. 16-20, etc.). It implies that Christ had a purpose and a mission in life. He chose and disciplined the instruments who were to carry it out. Here, again, the facts rest on the firmest possible basis. The ever increasing members of the first Christian communities could question these earliest adherents of the Master and ascertain the simple facts. Several of them lived for many years after His death.

[1] Cf. the Fragment of the Gospel according to the Hebrews cited by Jerome, *Adv. Pelag.* iii. 2. 'Ecce Mater Domini et Fratres Ejus dicebant Ei : "Joannes Baptista baptizat in remissionem peccatorum ; eamus et baptizemur ab eo." Dixit autem eis ; "Quid peccavi, ut vadam et baptizer ab eo? nisi forte hoc ipsum, quod dixi, ignorantia est."' *v.* Preuschen, *Antilegomena*, p. 4.

They were naturally held in great reverence and their witness to the historic Personality and to the life and teaching of our Lord, was regarded as the chief evidence available.[1] Now it will be admitted that evidence of such a character would in any other matter of importance carry with it convincing proof. When sober and trustworthy persons living in various countries agree together in the report of their experience of one whom they have known and who, as they allege, has had great influence in moulding their lives and characters, their testimony cannot be set aside on any other grounds than that of ascertained inaccuracy of statement. In the present case no such ground exists. The report of the Apostles, as received by the members of the primitive communities, has come down to us embodied in Gospel narratives and in the Epistles. It presents a picture of the Saviour which is consistent. Differences of expression only attest independence. There is no contradiction. It is a living Person Who stands before us.

Another kind of evidence for the historic Personality of our Lord is contained in the Gospel

[1] Cf. Holtzmann, *Die Entstehung des Neuen Testaments*, p. 14.

accounts of His teaching. The statement of Kähler,[1] denying that we possess any authentic word of Christ, is confuted by the general assent that in the Logia (Q) sections of the First and Third Gospels, we have His genuine and undoubted utterances. They possess an individuality and consistency which show that they are not invented and put into the reputed Speaker's mouth, but are His own spontaneous sayings. They come from a Teacher of great force of character and of a quite revolutionary and epoch-making turn of mind; One Who handled the Old Testament as if He possessed the key to it, and as though it belonged to Him in a peculiar sense; One, too, Who spoke with an authority which startled His hearers and differentiated Him from all the teachers they had ever heard.

And if we take those narratives of Christ's teaching which are given only by St. Matthew or by St. Luke—the 'Sondergut' of the First and Third Gospels, we get the same impression as from the Logia. St. Matthew records ten parables peculiar to himself; St. Luke, eighteen. Both Evangelists must have had access to special sources of information; or, if they used the same

[1] *v.* above, p. 66.

material, they must have been led, by considerations which are unknown to us, to select it differently. Now there is nothing in these pieces of teaching which are peculiar to St. Matthew or St. Luke, to put them out of harmony with the Matthaean Logia. Indeed, if we were to select one parable rather than another which breathes the characteristic spirit of Christ's teaching, we should go to one reported exclusively by St. Luke —that of the Prodigal Son. As v. Soden says:[1] 'There remains in this "Sondergut" a kernel which resists all criticism; recitals whose origin would be inexplicable, if they were not simple reflections of the historical fact.' Here, again, an unique and consistent Personality is disclosed by the character of the teaching imputed to Him. That teaching can only be accounted for by the supposition that it proceeds from Him to Whom tradition has always referred it—Jesus of Nazareth.

Then there is the evidence of St. Paul to the historic Personality of our Lord. It is striking

[1] *Die Wichtigsten Fragen*, p. 63. 'Aber es bleibt ein Kern zurück, der jeder Kritik Stand hält, unter welchen Gesichtspunkten immer man Bedenken erheben mag, Berichte deren Entstehung ganz unerklärbar würde, wenn sie nicht einfache Wiedergabe der geschichtlichen Tatsächlichkeit wären.'

for two reasons. His reference to Christ in 1 Thess. i. 1 is the earliest that has come down to us in all the literature of the world. According to Harnack,[1] it is to be placed about eighteen years after the Crucifixion, and therefore is much earlier than any written Gospel which we possess. Thus to St. Paul belongs the glory of first 'naming the Name of Christ' in the literature which has survived through the lapse of centuries. Then there is the unique fact that a great Personality like St. Paul, once conscientiously hostile, became, probably during the year of the Crucifixion,[2] an Apostle, devoted body and soul to the service of the cause which he had opposed.

[1] *v. Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, Th. ii. Bd. i. p. 239, n. 1. 'The Epistles to the Thessalonians are to be set down to the year 48-49.' According to Wernle, *Die Quellen des Lebens Jesu*, p. 4, the reference is 'scarcely twenty years removed from the life of Jesus.' Sanday in Hastings, *D.B.* ii. p. 648, says: 'Written probably about A.D. 51, in any case not later than A.D. 53.' *v.* Dean Robinson in *Guardian*, December 13, 1905.

[2] 'According to the tradition, his conversion goes back quite near to the death of Jesus.' Bousset, *Was wissen wir von Jesus?* p. 18. According to Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*, Th. ii. Bd. i. *Chronologie*, p. 237, 'St. Paul's conversion occurred in the year A.D. 30—that is, either the year of Christ's death or the following one.'

Now, on St. Paul as an actual historic personage no responsible writer has ventured to throw discredit: the evidence for his existence is abundant and conclusive. The man and his work live among the certain possessions of the human race. And the career of St. Paul can only be explained by the Person who gave him henceforth his object in life, and to Whose cause he dedicated all he was or hoped to be. On no principles of critical investigation can the evidence of the historic Paul for the historic Christ be set aside. 'From his Epistles,' says Bousset,[1] 'the historic existence of

[1] *Was wissen wir von Jesus?* p. 18. 'Aus seinen Briefen tritt uns mit aller Klarheit die historische Existenz Jesu entgegen.' *Ib. infrà*, 'Wer die Existenz Jesu bestreiten will, muss auch die Existenz des Paulus, wie er uns aus seinen Briefen entgegentritt streichen. Er muss die Unechtheit der paulinischen Briefliteratur behaupten.'

This is what Bruno Bauer, Loman (*v. infrà*, p. 86, note 1) and Steck of Berne have ventured to do, thereby setting themselves in opposition to the general body of responsible criticism. The 'Hauptbriefe,'—Galatians, Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians—are recognised as genuine writings of St. Paul, even by the Tübingen School. Strauss, much as he would have wished, if it had been possible, to neutralise their evidence in the interest of his mythical interpretation of the Gospel history, could not do so. As Ullman says: 'Let us suppose for the moment that Strauss had achieved his purpose with his criticism of the sources and had produced tenable results, still there remains a rock which he cannot

Christ comes out with all clearness.' 'He who would dispute the existence of Jesus must strike out the existence of Paul as he meets us in his Epistles. He must maintain the unauthenticity

roll away—the Apostle Paul and his writings.' 'The greater number and at the same time the most important of the Pauline Epistles are, as regards their authenticity and originality, raised above all doubt, and Strauss cannot refute this fact.' *Historisch oder Mythisch*, p. 63. Cf. Knowling, *The Witness of the Epistles*, p. 19. Kalthoff (*Die Entstehung des Christentums*, p. 110) has seized upon the peculiar standpoint of Loman towards the Pauline Epistles for his own purposes. But as Bousset points out (*Was wissen wir von Jesus?* p. 18), speaking of the negative attitude taken by Loman and others: 'The productions of this School are unanimously rejected by the combined theological science, the German at the head. Even in Holland the influence of the school is on the wane (im Rückgang begriffen)': and he adds shrewdly: 'But we have often experienced how academic theories at the very time they are driven out into the cold, manage to find their way into the community at large (gerade in der Zeit, in der sie abgewirtschaftet haben, erst in die Masse hinausgetragen werden).'

As Bousset goes on to say, Kalthoff and Steck, following the so-called Dutch School, reject St. Paul's Epistles. In this extraordinary contention they are opposed by, roughly speaking, all scholars of repute, English, German, and American. Cf. *ib.* p. 25, 'The Person of Jesus is bound up with the person of Paul,' and p. 26, 'As a matter of fact, for Paul Jesus was essentially a heavenly Being, but the first Disciples, whose existence is certified by Paul, had lived with their Lord.'

of the Pauline literature.' 'This Paul,' writes v. Soden,[1] 'explains that for all he possesses he has to thank the Christ, Who, passionately longed for by himself and his fellow-countrymen, has appeared in the Person of Jesus. That means, he bears witness to Jesus as the Founder of Christianity.' Wernle, after remarking upon the little information afforded by St. Paul as to the life of Christ, goes on to say: 'We do learn from him that a Man, Jesus, in spite of His death upon the Cross, was able after His death to extend such an influence that a Paul became conscious of such constraint, such redemption and blessing, that he divided his own life and the world at large into two parts—without Jesus, with Jesus.'

There is also the witness to the historic Christ which is supplied by the Gospel of St. John. We do not require it to establish the fact: but

[1] *Die Wichtigsten Fragen im Leben Jesu*, p. 2. 'Dieser Paulus aber erklärt, alles, was er habe dem Christus zu verdanken, der von ihm mit seinem ganzen Volk heiss ersehnt, in Jesus erschienen sei. Das heisst, er zengt für Jesus als dem Stifter des Christenthums.' As Van Manen says of Loman's theory: 'The pre-supposed genuineness of the four chief Epistles of Paul is in complete antagonism to it. The Apostle would not have been forthcoming if Jesus had not lived.' *Jahrbücher für prot. Theologie*, 1883, p. 595.

it would be mere pedantry to refrain from citing what—after making every allowance for its different character—is a document of great historic value.[1] The uncertainty which still exists as to its authorship, does nothing to take from that value. The Gospel bears all the marks of being what it professes to be, the work of one who saw what he describes, and who looks back from the distance of a ripe old age on scenes and events which left ineffaceable impressions upon his mind. The writer's object was not to furnish a history of our Lord: it was to show that He Whom he knew on earth as Jesus of Nazareth was none other than the Eternal Son of God, manifest in the flesh. In pursuit of his plan, he selects and uses his material not as a mere biographer, but as one who writes with a purpose. Now, the fact that he has a purpose in writing in no way invalidates his record of the events which occur in the course of his story; for, be it remembered, the Fourth Gospel is not an allegory, but a meditation on matters of fact. In the

[1] Cf. K. Furrer, *Das Leben Jesu Christi*, p. 19. 'Only one who had been taken hold of by the historical Christ could produce so philosophical a picture of his Lord and Master. So far this Gospel possesses very great historical significance.'

course of the meditation there is ample scope for the employment of a memory sharpened by constant thought, and by a keen sense of the transcendent importance of the subject. Indeed, the higher the author's conception of his task, the more would he strive for accuracy in those details in which his subject touches earth. It is admitted that he had the Synoptic Gospels before him when he wrote. Occasionally he differs from them in matters of fact; but it must be acknowledged that he does so with his eyes open and with a full sense of his responsibility, believing that the incidents, as he remembered them, were such as he reports them. In many cases the difference from the Synoptic recital is by way of addition—not contradiction—and is required if we are to understand the Synoptic account. For instance, the immediate and complete obedience of the Apostles to the call of Christ as narrated in the First and Second Gospels (and, with additions peculiar to himself, by St. Luke), would be inexplicable if we had not St. John's story of the interviews which preceded it.[1] The visits to Jerusalem, which

[1] 'The fourth Gospel is written to prove the reality of Jesus Christ. But the Evangelist was no historian: ideas,

St. John alone reports, are required to explain the 'How often' of the great lamentation over the city which forms one of the most precious gems of the Third Gospel. What could the Apostles have understood of our Lord's mystic sayings at the institution of the Eucharist, as reported by the three first Evangelists, if the discourse given by St. John (vi.) had not, at least in substance, been spoken? Without the contributions of St. John to the Evangelic history, the Synoptic accounts of the incidents named would seem to be suspended in mid-air; the historical basis would be wanting. *With* the elements contributed by the Fourth Gospel, everything falls into its place. We may say that the historical kernel of St. John's Gospel—and such a kernel is freely admitted[1]—is essential, if we

not events, were to him the true realities.' Burkitt, *The Gospel History and its Transmission*, p. 256; but *v. supra*, p. 45, n. 1. Cf. Westcott, *St. John*, p. lix. 'That Jesus was a real Man is an obvious inference from the Synoptic narrative, but in the fourth Gospel it is a Dogma.' Burkitt, *op. cit.* p. 233. *v.* O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu*, p. 144, 5.

[1] *v.* above, pp. 45, 46. B. Weiss, *Die Geschichtlichkeit des Markusevangeliums*, 1905, pp. 47 ff., gives instances of the way in which difficult situations which confront us in the Synoptic Gospels are rendered clear by St. John, *e.g.* our Lord's conduct after the entry into Jerusalem, Mk. xi

are to understand in any degree the course of the Saviour's earthly life.

The bearing of these considerations on our present point is evident. No dispassionate reader of the Fourth Gospel can deny that, behind its witness, lies a solid groundwork of fact. Whatever views we may take of the proportion which subsequent meditation and reflection bear to the element of actual history, we must acknowledge that the historic Christ was personally known to the writer of the Gospel. A striking feature of his work is the repeated asseveration of its truth.[1] The Gospel and the First Epistle are

11, is explained in Jo. xii. 'The so-called entry meant rather that He was fetched by the pilgrims to the feast, the motive for which is clearly revealed in Jo. xii. 9, 12.' Again, Jo. ii. 19-23 throws light on the narratives Mk. xiv. 57 ff. and xv. 29 ff. 'Without a discussion as to the sense in which the kingship claimed by Jesus was to be understood, such as John seeks to give in his characteristic way (xviii. 33-38), the attitude of Pilate is incomprehensible.' *Ib.* p. 51.

[1] By himself, xix. 35. By others, xxi. 24.

Cf. B. Weiss, *Das Leben Jesu*, i. p. 105. 'Everywhere, in matters of detail, as in the general picture of the life of Jesus, we come upon the hard rock of historical reminiscence, which presents an invincible obstacle to that critical method of explanation, which seeks to change it into ideal forms.' *Ib.* p. 120. 'Here (in the Fourth

alike committed to the assertion of the actual life, as Man among men, of the Son of God.

To sum up briefly what has been said. We have ample documentary proof, of varying degrees of strength and cogency, not merely that a Jesus of Nazareth existed—that is not actually disputed by Kalthoff—but that the Christian religion was founded by the Jesus Who lived and suffered and, as the first Christians believed, rose again from the dead; that He was not the creation of the Christian fancy—the mere incarnation of a conception—but a true and actual Personage.[1]

Gospel), we have to do, not with ideas whose value consists in the fact that they are the result of thought, but with truths which are only of value if they deal with facts.'

[1] 'Christianity is based on history; it rests not on ideas, but on facts.' Barnes in *Cambridge Theological Essays*, p. 343. 'It is the glory and the strength of Christianity to be able to point to a historic origin, and to have ever open to it the appeal to the Founder.' Gardner, *Exploratio Evangelica*, p. 178. Bousset has shown in *Was wissen wir von Jesus?* how completely the factors by which Kalthoff thinks to account for the origin of Christianity fail to meet the circumstances of the case. He admits that they contributed their share in forming it, or at least in modifying its form, but 'the Jewish Messianic hope, Greek Philosophy, the social relations of the Roman Empire, the longing of the destitute for air

To the alternative, as suggested by Kalthoff's view—either the Church the creation of Christ or Christ the creation of the Church—common-sense, apart from the whole stream of historic evidence, should be able to reply without hesitation. A great movement necessitates the existence of a great personality. There has been

and light, the organisation and the spirit of the mystical societies of the later Greek religion,' could never have produced the religion of Christ. 'Can life come out of death? . . . True, all those factors have contributed to the rise of Christianity, but they do not account for it (aber nicht ist dieses aus jenen begreifbar.) You cannot make an unit out of a row of noughts. A new reality, a fresh strong stream of life must pour itself forth, receiving into its bosom the little feeble streams, which without it would be choked in the sand,' pp. 68, 69. It is worth noting that the attempt to account for the origin of Christianity by the embodiment of an idea, or set of ideas, in a supposed person was no invention of A. Kalthoff. The Dutch Theologian, Loman, had already in 1881-3 suggested that Jesus Christ was the embodiment of Messianic conceptions, 'the symbol and personification of thoughts and principles which were fully developed in the second century of the Christian era.' *v.* Van Manen, *Jahrbücher für Prot. Theologie*, 1883, pp. 573-618; Knowling, *Witness of the Epistles*, p. 145. As Kalthoff's views have been controverted by such critics as Bousset, Loman's were rejected by the most advanced even of Dutch critics of his time, *e.g.* A. Kuenen and Van Manen. *v.* Holtzmann, *Einleitung in das N.T.* p. 192. At a conference

no greater world-movement in all history than Christianity. If we had not the overwhelming evidence for the historic reality of Jesus Christ, we should have to cast about for a Founder who should be equal to the task. But in Him we have what reason demands and the heart desires. 'Religion,' says Bousset, 'lives only in and from great Personalities. Ever and anon we must kindle our little flame at theirs. But the Centre and the highest point of all these religious leaders is the Person of Jesus.'[1]

in Amsterdam in 1882 no one agreed with Loman when his theory came up for discussion in this form, 'Wie ist zu denken über die symbolische Auffassung der Person Jesu in Verbindung mit der Entstehung des Christenthums?' Van Manen, *op. cit.* p. 605. But we remember that the denial of an historical Christ had to be met by St. John. The Docetic Gnostics of his day, who refused to confess 'that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh,' and whose attitude he characterises as the 'spirit of antichrist,' are the true precursors of the eccentric teachers to whom we have been referring. 1 Jo. iv. 3; cf. 2 Jo. 7.

[1] *Was wissen wir von Jesus?* p. 72. 'Die Religion lebt nur in und von grossen Persönlichkeiten. Immer von neuem müssen wir unser kleines Feuer an ihrem grossen entzünden. Mittelpunkt und Höhepunkt aber aller dieser das Leben der Religion tragenden Führer ist die Person Jesu.' Mensinga (*Theol. Tijdschrift* for 1883, pp. 145 ff.) observes, according to Van Manen, *op. cit.* p. 648, 'Was übrigens die Hypothese von der Nicht-Existenz Jesu

betrifft, so unterstellt sie eine undenkbare Eile in der Mythenbildung über seine Person und eine unwahrscheinliche Mythenbildung ohne persönlichen Kern.' Compare Pfleiderer's criticism of Kalthoff in his *Die Entstehung des Christentums*, 1905, p. 11. 'How is it conceivable that, out of the chaos of the masses, the new community could have spontaneously fashioned itself without any decisive *act*, without some fundamental experience, which could form the germ for the embodiment of the new ideas? If, on the other hand, in the case of new historical organizations, it is the fact that the forces and strivings which are present in the people generally, are first brought into a definite line of effort through the stimulating action of heroic personalities, and thus become united in a living organism; even so must the impulse to the formation of the Christian Church have proceeded from a definite point which, according to the witness of the Apostle Paul and of the oldest Gospels, we can find only in the Person, in the Life and Death of Jesus.'

CHAPTER V

THE SON OF MAN

WHEN we approach the historical Person, Jesus of Nazareth, as He comes before us in the New Testament, two phenomena at once arrest attention. He is like other men. He differs from other men.

The Christ of the primitive Gospel—Petrine Mark—is presented to us as a fully developed man. It knows nothing of the steps by which He reached that stature. 'But if Jesus was human, He was so not only in what He was at His height, but in the process by which He attained that height and became what He was.'[1] Now, if one great object of the Gospel narrative is to set before us what manner of man He was, it is unlikely that that period of life so supreme in importance during which He was

[1] Du Bose, *The Gospel in the Gospels*, p. 28.

becoming what men found Him to be—childhood and youth—should be entirely passed over. This consideration of itself recommends the tradition embodied in the early chapters of St. Matthew and St. Luke. The absence of some such narrative would leave the Gospel story truncated and defective to a degree which we can hardly realise, familiar as we are with those most beautiful of Gospel recitals. Omitting, for the present,[1] consideration of the supernatural Birth in which the two Evangelists agree, different as are the points of view from which they approach their subject, it may be admitted that these early chapters embody a stratum of Gospel tradition which became known to them comparatively late. It would naturally be so. The Gospel of the public Life and Ministry would be required and supplied first. When attention had been called to the Person of Christ on account of His work and claims, then and not before, interest would be aroused as to His origin and early years. It is so in all ordinary biography. The hero, because he is a hero, interests us, and every particular of his early life and training is investigated. But though

[1] *v. infrà*, pp. 114 ff.

the materials of these chapters would naturally have come to the Evangelists after the materials underlying their accounts of the public Ministry, there is nothing to show that the chapters were added as an afterthought. Before they began to write, the Evangelists must have become acquainted with the traditions of the Birth and Childhood. To take the Lucan narrative, the marks of true history are frequent and evident, and in the undoubtedly genuine preface the writer claims to have perfect knowledge of all things from the first.[1] The brief description of our Lord's early years commends itself by its precise and restrained narration. We learn from it how, in perfectly human fashion, He grew physically, intellectually, spiritually. He was not sprung upon the world like Athenê issuing full fashioned and complete from the head of Zeus. There was seen exemplified in Him that law

[1] *v.* Ramsay, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* p. 15. 'He claims to trace the whole series of events from their origin —*i.e.* he has in view the narrative which he proceeds to give of Christ's birth and early days.' H. Holtzmann, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, p. 377. 'ἄνωθεν, still beyond that which the first reporters were able to narrate, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς *i.e.* according to Mark i. 14, since the baptism by John.' *v.* further *infrà*, p. 272, n. 1.

of development which regulates all human life. His spirit expanded day by day in communion with 'the Father of Spirits.' His mind always observant, as His subsequent teaching shows, of the incidents of town and country life, became more and more receptive and creative, and withal His bodily growth kept pace, until He 'attained unto a full-grown man, unto the measure of the stature of His fulness.'[1]

Then there is the same 'likeness of men' in the varied experience of His public career. He submits to baptism along with His contemporaries of lower class. He is subject to temptation. According to v. Soden,[2] St. Mark's allusion to it is 'obscure' and he excludes it from the 'Petrine' element. But a recital, which, if brief, is expanded and emphasized by the other Synoptics and which bears upon its face every sign of authenticity, is not to be set apart as of inferior authority by the use of a subjective epithet. The very fact that such a story appears in the Gospels is itself a guarantee that it is not an invention. The authority for it could be none other than our Lord Himself. No disciple

[1] Eph. iv. 13 (R.V.). *v. infrà*, p. 175.

[2] *Die Wichtigsten Fragen im Leben Jesu*, p. 38.

would have dared to write it, if he had not the highest authority for doing so. Reverence and the awe, which would have naturally been felt in the presence of such a mystery, would have sufficed to withhold it. And if Christ alone could have communicated the facts, to whom would He have been more likely to make them known than to Peter, himself, with one exception, the most sorely tempted of the Twelve? The fuller accounts of the First and Third Gospels, bearing out as they do the Marcan one, have as their basis some more circumstantial record of which we know nothing. It is one of those instances of the use by St. Matthew and St. Luke of some document other than the Logia[1] and which

[1] Harnack, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, ii. p. 88, refers the account to the Logia. But it is very improbable that such a recital, due, as it must have been, to a private communication by our Lord to a disciple, or disciples, should have found a place in a collection of more or less public sayings, such as the Logia. Harnack's treatment of it, however, shows his high sense of the antiquity and trustworthiness of the account. Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, p. 88, refers it to the Logia. B. Weiss, *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in d. Neue Testament*, 1897, p. 467, is inclined to place it in the Logia, although, as he says, 'The three Temptations of Jesus . . . are chiefly narrative, although the words of the Lord form their special point.' Cf. his *Leben Jesu*, i. p. 314. 'From the essential

was either unknown to St. Mark or neglected by him.[1]

For the public part of His Life, the evidence of our Lord's complete humanity is clear and decisive. It will suffice to name one or two instances, physical and mental. We find Him subject to hunger, thirst, weariness, ignorance, astonishment, anger, a sense of desolation bordering on despair, the possession of a will not necessarily one with the will of God, grief, pain.[2] To lose these portions of the Gospel would be to part with one of its most precious elements. But apart from this abundant witness to the truth of His humanity, there is the fact that our Lord first came among His disciples and made His first appeal to them as Man. His favourite and self-chosen title for Himself is 'The Son of

and partly verbal agreement of the first and third Gospels, it follows irresistibly that a single account of the three separate Temptations lay before both Evangelists; this must have stood in the apostolic source and have gone back to a communication of Jesus Himself.'

[1] But see *Encycl. Biblica*, Art. 'Gospels,' p. 1855. Salmon, *The Human Element in the Gospels*, p. 69, considers that 'St. Matthew and St. Luke were both indebted to Q for the narrative.'

[2] Matt. iv. 2, Jo. iv. 6, 7, xix. 28, Mk. xi. 13, vi. 6, iii. 5, xv. 34, xiv. 36, iii. 5, Jo. xi. 35, Lu. xxii. 44.

Man.' It is always in the Gospels[1] applied by Christ to Himself; never by others to Him. Whatever may be our view of the precise implication of the term, it is difficult to resist the impression that our Lord's constant and remarkable use of it was intended to fasten attention upon Himself as Man coming among men, with a mission on behalf of men. It would be hardly correct to speak of Christ as meaning, by the expression, to denote His assumption of a representative character, as though mankind were summed up in Him for a new departure, as in the Pauline antithesis.[2] But it must be admitted

[1] The only use of the term in the New Testament, outside the four Gospels, is in Acts vii. 56 where St. Stephen applies it to our Lord. In Rev. i. 13 and xiv. 14, '*One like a Son of man*,' ὅμοιον υἱὸν (υἱῷ) ἀνθρώπου, the term is alluded to, but is differently expressed. *v.* Swete on Rev. i. 13. Cf. Lietzmann, *Der Menschensohn*, p. 15. 'If (the Apocalypse) speaks of One ὅμοιος υἱῷ ἀνθρώπου, it clearly shows by that expression that υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου as a title of Jesus is unknown to it.' This conclusion of Lietzmann's is not warranted. The fact that an expression somewhat similar to the title is employed by the writer of the Apocalypse is no proof that the title itself was unknown to him. The evidence points the other way. The term occurs also in a fragment of the 'Gospel according to the Hebrews' preserved by Jerome, *De Vir. Illustr.* ii. *v.* Preuschen, *Antilegomena*, p. 8.

[2] 1 Cor. xv. 22.

that the Manhood, which He emphasizes by the use of the term, is true and real, and that it is related to that of other men in a sense quite unique and remarkable. In the method of our Lord's employment of it, the expression seems to touch mankind as a whole. It is individualising, or it would be untrue to the facts of human nature, but—using the word under limitations—it is also representative.

So far we have been concerned with showing the fact that our Lord came before men as true Man. That was the aspect of His Person, which naturally and in accordance with His own wish, was the first to appeal to men. It was His own view of Himself and it was the view men took of Him.

When we come to look more closely into the title 'Son of Man,' into its history and into its meaning for Christ Himself and His contemporaries, we find in it a certain Messianic sense. But we have first to deal with the theory of Lietzmann[1] (partly anticipated in 1870 by

[1] *Der Menschensohn*, p. 85. 'Accordingly, in all places, where ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου can only be explained as a paraphrase for "Jesus the Messiah"—and they form the far greater number—the Aramaic word which answers to

Volkmar), who was followed at first by Wellhausen,[1] that the expression, if referred back to its original Aramaic בר אנשא, bar 'nasha, means simply 'man' in a general sense and would therefore be useless as a personal designation. ὁ ἄνθρωπος and ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, 'the Man' and 'the Son of Man,' would each represent the same Aramaic word.[2] Christ therefore, when speaking, as was His usual custom, in Aramaic did not apply

the Greek formula does not supply its basis; that is, the expression could not proceed from the lips of Jesus in the form presented by the text: Jesus has never applied the title "Son of Man" to Himself, because it does not exist in the Aramaic and, from linguistic reasons, cannot exist.' This extreme view, if not fully anticipated, was probably suggested by Volkmar, who drew attention to the non-occurrence of the title in St. Paul and in the Apocalypse and said that it was 'a distinctively Christian growth, the work of that imitator of the Apocalypse and exponent of the present Lordship of Christ—the Evangelist Mark.' *v.* Lietzmann, *op. cit.* p. 15.

[1] *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi. 1899; p. 187 and *passim*; but see his *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, p. 79. 'He (Jesus) names Himself (Mk. viii. 31, etc.) not the Christ but rather the Son of Man. Under that title, He understands a transfigured and heavenly Messiah in contrast to the earthly Messiah of the Jews.' This shows a considerable change in Wellhausen's position in 1905.

[2] Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch der Neutestamentlichen Theologie*, i. p. 256, calls this 'a discovery.'

the title to Himself. Lietzmann[1] further holds that the expression originated through the LXX rendering of Dan. vii. 13, and after finding its way into Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature came into the Gospel tradition, being mistakenly put into the mouth of Christ by the Evangelists.

This view has naturally met with the greatest opposition. It so entirely fails to meet and to do justice to the facts of the case. The explanation, as Barth says,[2] is rather an admission of despair of arriving at any explanation. For, to begin with, Dalman[3] asserts that the genuine

[1] *op. cit.* p. 93. 'In any case, Dan. vii. 13 has been the creative passage and the representations here given were authoritative for the content which was assigned to the title "Son of Man."' 'In the primitive community, whose sinews of life were formed by the hope of the Parousia, this passage provided the most fertile soil for taking over the formula.' *Ib.*

[2] *Die Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesu*, 1903, p. 237. 'There is no question that by the expression "Son of Man" Jesus has many times designated Himself; it is pure arbitrariness to deny it.' Cf. O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu*, p. 129. Harnack, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, ii. 1907, p. 165. 'We must lay it down as a fact (konstatieren) that the expression has been, according to 'Q,' a current self-designation of Jesus.'

[3] *Die Worte Jesu*, p. 210. He remarks that 'Man' and 'Son of Man' do not go back to the same Aramaic expression. *Ib.* p. 216.

Aramaic expression suggested by ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (*bar 'nāshā*) was not the usual term for 'man' among Jews of Palestine. It was the exalted language of poetry and prophecy. The Jews knew it as a biblical expression. As used by Christ, they would, in their surprise, turn to the Scriptures for its meaning. This would be found in Dan. vii. 13, where it applies to a Personage understood, according to Jewish exposition, to be the Messiah. 'Jesus applies the term to Himself not as the lowly one (*den "Niedrigen"*) but as—according to His nature—a weak child of Man, whom God will exalt to be Lord of the world, and it is highly probable that Jesus found the "Son of Man" of Daniel vii. in Psalm viii. 5 ff.'[1] No doubt there are instances of the use of the expression in which it simply means 'man.'[2] But the frequency and the striking character of its use by our Lord point clearly to a deeper signification. Holtzmann[3] supposes

[1] *Ib.* p. 218.

[2] Such as Num. xxiii. 19; Ps. viii. 4.

[3] *Lehrbuch der Neutestamentlichen Theologie*, i. pp. 249, 250, 261. Wellhausen, *Einleitung in die 3 ersten Evangelien*, p. 79, makes the curious and unsupported assertion that Christ uses the expression, instead of the simple personal pronoun 'I,' always and only where suffering, death and resurrection

that the bare, impersonal meaning, 'man' was all that He intended by its use during the earlier part of His Ministry, and that it was not until St. Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi that it became in His mouth a term of personal and Messianic meaning. This is improbable. As Lepin[1] says, if it is admitted that our Lord employed the expression from the outset of His Ministry, it is very unlikely that it would only receive from Him its true signification at a later date.

Then the nature of the term itself is an answer

are the predicates; predicates which directly contradict the usual Jewish Messianic conception. Cf. H. Holtzmann, *Das messianische Bewusstsein Jesu*, 1907, p. 67. 'To sum up, it may accordingly be said: "Son of Man" Jesus is and designates Himself, partly on all occasions when, forgiving and saving, teaching and suffering, He announces, spreads and represents the Kingdom of God, but on the other hand and before all, when He perfects it as He comes upon the clouds of Heaven. No passage is entirely excluded from this interpretation.' Cf. Kühl, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, p. 68.

[1] *Jésus, Messie et Fils de Dieu*, 1905, p. 112. So too Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, p. 216. 'In the absence of any historic evidence in this direction, we can make no terms with the supposition adopted by Pfleiderer, J. Weiss and J. H. Holtzmann, that Jesus originally styled Himself merely "The Man," and only later, by combining it with Dan. vii. 13, gave the title a Messianic designation.'

to the contention that Christ did not use it, but that it was afterwards put into His lips by the Evangelic writers. It is the last expression they would be likely to use of Christ, if He had not Himself sanctioned it. 'Son of God' would more nearly express their feeling. We are always being warned against trusting for our knowledge of Christ to elements of the Gospel narrative which betray a tendency to heighten and exalt the original conception. Those who think they can detect such passages must admit that here, at any rate, we have an expression which is in every respect free from such a tendency, and the imputed use of which by our Lord can only be explained—reiterated as it is—by the fact that He actually did employ it.

But there is another guarantee of the authentic character of the use of the expression. It has the strongest possible documentary attestation. Over and over again, it is to be found both in St. Mark and in Logia (Q) passages of the First and Third Gospels.[1] St. John reports its use

[1] 'When Q and Mark appear to report the same saying, we have the nearest approach that we can hope to get to the common tradition of the earliest Christian society about our Lord's words.' Burkitt, *The Gospel History and its Transmission*, p. 145. Compare the following important

eleven times on occasions which are not parallel to Synoptic ones.[1]

From these considerations, it may be taken for certain that our Lord used the expression 'Son of Man' when speaking of Himself and that, in choosing that designation, He had a very definite object in view. Can we arrive at the meaning which He intended to convey? As, regarding the question of His actual use of the term, we found some difference of opinion, so among those who acknowledge that He employed it, there is disagreement with regard to its implication.

In the first place, there can be little doubt that in our Lord's mouth the expression stands for manhood in a special sense. The fact that

remarks: 'Our knowledge of the preaching and history of Jesus rests, at any rate in the main, upon two sources which are close together in point of time but are mutually independent. Where they agree, they present a strong guarantee and they do agree in much that is important.' 'Auf zwei zeitlich sich nahe stehenden aber von einander unabhängigen Quellen beruht—wenigstens in der Hauptsache—unsre Kenntniss der Verkündigung und Geschichte Jesu. Wo sie zusammenstimmen bieten sie eine starke Gewähr, und sie stimmen in Vielem und Grossem zusammen.' Harnack, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, ii. p. 172.

[1] *v.* Driver in Hastings, *D.B.* iv. Art. 'Son of Man,' pp. 579, 581.

He uses it frequently though—as we have seen —not exclusively, in speaking of His Passion, Death and Resurrection, of that which He was to undergo as Man for man—'tasting death for every man' in the language of St. Paul[1]—gives a representative character to it. He, if men would receive it, is *the Man*, and though they could not understand how, and though the idea of representation and ideality would be a later stage of the conception, yet He clearly means that men should fasten their gaze upon Him, as upon One Whom it concerned them to watch and know. But we cannot stop here. As we have seen, there is little doubt that the apocalyptic passage, Dan. vii. 13, played a considerable part in the selection and use of the term. It furnished a point of connection with the ideas of the time, and though it has been stated[2] that the expression 'Son of Man' was not one of Messianic significance to the ordinary religious thought of

[1] Cf. Driver in Hastings, *D.B.* iv. p. 587.

[2] *v.* Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, pp. 197-204. Baldensperger, on the other hand, says: 'Notwithstanding the rarity of the allusions in the post-Christian period, the use of the name "Son of Man" in certain limited circles of the older Judaism may well have been nothing unwonted.' *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, p. 142 and n. 1.

our Lord's day, yet directly He used it, men's minds would revert to the vision of Daniel, which was certainly interpreted at the time in a Messianic sense. Not only so, but the use of the term in the first century Book of Enoch in a Messianic sense may have contributed towards our Lord's choice of it. However that may be, it is very generally admitted that, in using the expression, He intended to emphasize the close relation to mankind in which He believed Himself to stand, and that He deliberately chose it to convey the idea of His Messiahship. And for this reason. The ordinary Jew's conception of the Messiah, in the time of our Lord, was a perpetual hindrance to the work which He came to do. At every step He found Himself misunderstood and His purposes thwarted. 'Lord, wilt Thou at this time restore again the Kingdom to Israel?' is a question which St. Luke tells us[1] was asked of the Saviour by the assembled Apostles, even after the experiences of the Passion and the Resurrection.

For they had not yet learned to recognise the true character of His Messiahship. And if they were still in error, what must have been

[1] Acts i. 6.

the case of the people at large during the public ministry? A temporal restoration of a lost Sovereignty, the expulsion of the Roman Eagles, the primacy among the kingdoms—these were the expectations which the Jew associated with his conception of the Messiah. Against this prevailing tendency of thought our Lord was striving during the whole course of His public Ministry:[1] where it existed, it was a barrier to the reception of His message and a hindrance to His work. No wonder then that, when He found to His hand a term, expressive at the same time of close brotherhood and fellowship with mankind at large and of old association with the idea of the Messiahship, He, the Son of Man in an unique sense, and the Christ of God as only He could be, took it to Himself[2]

[1] 'He would satisfy no patriotic desires. What he felt to be a yoke was not the dominion of the heathen, but that of a deadening tradition.' Wellhausen, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, p. 93.

[2] 'It appears to me to be very probable that it (*i.e.* the expression 'Son of Man') has never had any other meaning (than the Messiah).' Harnack, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in d. Neue Testament*, ii. p. 166 note. 'It is difficult to expound the phrase "Son of Man" as used by Jesus without falling into the language of philosophy, which would be quite foreign to the lines of thought which belong to the Master.

and used it to express the truth of His humanity and the real character of His claim. It was His own designation for His Messiahship, and the fact that the title is always self-applied is a proof that it expresses a conception which He formed of His Person and His work.[1]

If we say that He claimed to embody the ideal Man or the idea of man, we use Platonic language. If we say that He stood as high priest for the human race, we fall into the way of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews and do not use the language of the earliest Christianity. If we say that he represented humanity as perfected and so made divine, we speak more in the fashion of Buddhism than of Christianity. But of these interpretations the first is more consonant to the Jewish genius than the others.' Gardner, *Exploratio Evangelica*, p. 189.

[1] *v.* Kaftan, *Jesus und Paulus*, 1906, p. 19. Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, p. 251. 'The designation was chosen by Jesus with the express purpose that the people might transfer their thoughts of the Messiah to Himself.'

CHAPTER VI

THE MESSIAH

It has been warmly debated, whether our Lord did or did not 'claim' to be Messiah. If 'to claim' implies in this context a determined and constant assertion of the title and the office, then we can go with Dalman, when he says:[1] 'It

[1] *op. cit.* p. 251. But St. John, iv. 26 ought not to be left out of consideration. One of the passages cited by Dalman in support of the latter clause of the above statement is Mark i. 34, where Christ forbids unclean spirits to own Him, and should therefore not be quoted in this connection. *v. supra*, p. 57, n. 1. 'In any case, He does not openly proclaim Himself, He does not follow the plan of the false Christs and say, "It is I."' Wellhausen, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, p. 92. But Wellhausen unduly minimises the force of our Lord's acceptance of the Messianic office when it is imputed to Him. We cannot conceive that He would have posed as what He was not, and suffered silently as Messiah if, as a matter of fact, He had admitted no such claim. Cf. Stanton in Hastings, *D.B.* iii. p. 355. Loisy, *L'Évangile et l'Église*, p. 84.

is true that Jesus has in fact neither proclaimed Himself as "Messiah," nor wished others to make Him known under this designation.' But to deny that He *accepted* the title when it was applied to Him—a thing impossible if it did not by right belong to Him—is to contradict the evidence and to oppose the judgment of the best scholars of every school of thought. Indeed, the evidence is so strong that one cannot help suspecting that the efforts made to ignore or evade it are prompted by the presence of certain presuppositions; that to admit our Lord's acceptance of the title would involve too high an estimate of His Person, and that therefore the force and implication of the evidence must be resisted as disturbing the representation formed of Him.

At the outset, it may be premised that the question is complicated by certain difficulties. At what point in His career did our Lord become conscious of Messiahship? What exactly did the office mean to Him? Have we any gauge by which to determine whether the faith and enthusiasm of the Church are responsible for placing in His lips assertions which, however true and warranted by the facts of His Personality, were not actually uttered by Him? And again, can

we be sure that confessions of His Messiahship by disciples were, in every case, made under the circumstances narrated? These questions have to be faced; and it must be admitted that they are not easy to answer.

But before these details are dealt with, let it be said that, on the question as a whole, there need be no uncertainty. Our Lord believed that, in the fullest and truest sense, He was the Messiah of prophecy, the Christ of God, 'He that should come' into the world, the Anointed King of His people, the Son of David.[1]

[1] 'One of the positions which, in spite of opposition of varied kinds, appears on repeated examination to be assured and impregnable (uneinnehmbar) is the fact that Jesus considered Himself to be the Messiah of His People.' Bousset, *Jesus*, p. 82. 'That Jesus regarded Himself as the Messiah, that He possessed Messianic self-consciousness, comes out more and more as a point which resists the sharpest criticism.' Id. *Was wissen wir von Jesus?* p. 60. 'The expression "Son of Man" seems to me to be only capable of being understood in a Messianic sense—that Jesus Himself made use of it is not to be doubted—and . . . a history such as that of the entry of Christ into Jerusalem must be simply struck out, in order to make good the assertion that He did not regard Himself as the promised Messiah and did not wish to pass for such.' Harnack, *Das Wesen des Christentums*, pp. 82, 83. 'Car, c'est pour s'être avoué Messie, et parce qu'il se croyait tel, que Jésus

In other words He believed Himself to be the fulfilment of the hopes and expectations, the answer to the questionings, the Deliverer from

est mort sur la croix.' Loisy, *L'Évangile et l'Église*, p. 104. 'I doubt not that Jesus was put to death as Messiah.' Wellhausen in Mk. xv. 3. 'Had the Crucified not been crucified as Messiah . . . the rise of the belief "then He is the Messiah" would have been a complete riddle.' Id. *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, p. 92.

'That Jesus at the end of His Life drew towards Jerusalem as Messiah, that He solemnly owned that He was Messiah in open court before the High Priest, that Pilate caused "The King of the Jews" to be written over His Cross, appears to stand unshaken in spite of the many considerations which have been alleged to the contrary.' Bousset, *Jesus*, p. 83. Speaking of St. Matt. xi. 27, Schmiedel (*Das vierte Evangelium*, 1907, p. 52) says: 'Thenceforth the way was open for Jesus to regard Himself as the supreme Emissary of God, Whom His people and His time recognised as the long promised Messiah.' Wernle, reviewing N. Schmidt's 'The Prophet of Nazareth' in *Theol. Literaturzeitung* for Nov. 9, 1907, says: 'The whole Gospel narrative, as it now lies before us, is steeped in the Messianic idea:' and he asks: 'How is the continuance of the Messianic faith in the circle of the disciples conceivable, if Jesus opposed it as determinedly as Schmidt thinks it was His duty to do?' Schmidt's attitude, if characteristic, is certainly surprising. Even Strauss had admitted that our Lord's consciousness that He was Messiah is an historic fact. If Bruno Bauer denied it, we can hardly be astonished, seeing that ten years later he became one of the few eccentric critics who have declined to recognise His historic existence. *v.* Schweitzer,

sin and evil, not only of the ancient people from whom He sprang, but of mankind as a whole. What Messiahship meant to the men of His time is not what it meant to those prophets

Von Reimarus zu Wrede, 1906, pp. 90, 142, 157. As Schweitzer points out (p. 144) Bauer had replaced the Mythical explanation of Christ's life by Strauss, with that of reflection—the reflection of the primitive community, based on its own experience and put into shape by the New Testament writers. But it is easy to show that such an explanation of the Person of Christ, as represented in the Gospels, is as unsatisfactory as that of Strauss which it claimed to supplant. In each case, the composition of the Gospel narratives is too near the events recorded to permit such an explanation. Besides, as Schweitzer remarks (*ib.* p. 283), the use of the term 'Son of Man' is itself a proof of the certainty and the trustworthiness of Gospel tradition. Cf. A. Meyer, *Wer hat das Christentum begründet, Jesus oder Paulus*, 1907, p. 96. 'The first disciples of Jesus regarded Him as the Messiah; He Himself has never repudiated this belief.' For Strauss's view, see his *Leben Jesu*, 1840, vol. ii. p. 6, E.T. 'Jesus held and expressed the conviction that He was the Messiah; and this is an indisputable fact.' Id. *ib.* 'The fact that His disciples after His death believed and proclaimed that He was the Messiah is not to be comprehended unless, when living, He had implanted the conviction in their minds.' Cf. Kirn, Art. 'Trinität' in *Real-Encylop. für prot. Theologie und Kirche*, Bd. xx. 1908, p. 112. 'The general primitive Christian witness to the Messiahship of Jesus contains the assumption that He stands near to God, as the organ of the realisation of the Theocracy, and belongs to Him in a special sense.'

and spiritual leaders of His people who had gone to their rest, 'not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off.'[1] For, except in the case of those higher spirits such as Simeon, there had entered into the general conception of Messiahship an almost exclusively national and temporal significance, which assorted ill with the traditions which had come down. The remembrance of this fact will often throw light on the otherwise strange and inexplicable reluctance of our Lord to assert His Messianic office. We can trace signs of mental conflict in His attitude towards it. The grateful outburst of joy with which He welcomes the confession of St. Peter at Caesarea Philippi, is followed by efforts to silence those who would publish the fact. The reason lies in the temporal and worldly connotation which the title had come to have. What should have been a help to the work of His ministry, a link connecting His claims with the true spirit and meaning of ancient prophecy, had become a positive hindrance to Him. Just because He was, and felt Himself to be, the Messiah, He could not use the title for His pur-

[1] Heb. xi. 13.

poses;[1] while at the same time He could not refuse it when applied to Himself by others. The position seems paradoxical, but it corresponds with the evidence and is explained by the historic situation.

When we come to examine the passages which identify our Lord with the Messiah, we are at once confronted with the question, At what point are we to begin?[2]

The halo of supernatural announcement and

[1] *v.* Bousset, *Jesus*, p. 85. 'Why then this entire and almost anxious reluctance? We can only find the answer to this question, in my opinion, in one direction. Jesus Himself in this matter was under a difficulty which He could not overcome. He must have been overmastered by a deep and immediate feeling that the title of Messiah was quite inadequate to express what, in His own inner consciousness, He knew Himself to be.'

[2] For the critical moment of the origin of His conviction, some look to His Baptism, when the Voice from Heaven acknowledged and proclaimed Him, Mark i. 9-12; *e.g.* Bousset, who says (*Jesus*, p. 85): 'It remains in the highest degree probable that the tradition is correct which places the awakening of the Messianic consciousness in the incident of the Baptism, and therefore before His public ministry.' O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu*, p. 106. 'The experience of Jesus at His Baptism constituted the vision of His call, like the visions which gave their call (den Berufungsvisionen) to the Old Testament prophets (Is. vi., Jer. i., Ezek. i. ii.).'

circumstance which, according to the first and third Evangelists, surrounded the Saviour's Birth, might lead to the supposition that from the first He would be recognised as the Christ; that, with the dawn of His human intelligence, He Himself would awaken to the fact that He was not as other children, and that one day He would have a work to do, which none but He might do. The incident of the visit to Jerusalem, when He was twelve years of age, which St. Luke alone has preserved, favours that supposition. Whether we translate ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Πατρός μου 'in My Father's house' or 'about My Father's business,' His question shows that there must have been already stirring within Him anticipations of His coming career, thoughts of a relation to God which was of a special character, either suggested by the Mother who had kept in her heart the events of His birth, or making themselves known by the working of the Holy Spirit within Him. But however that may be, there is no trace to be found in the Gospel record of any remembrance in after years of the wonders[1] which are said to have accompanied His birth, or of any sanctity due to

[1] Unless the conduct of the Blessed Virgin at Cana, John ii. 3-6, points in that direction.

them being believed to belong to His Person. The supernatural gleam, which illumined His entrance into the world, seems to have died down, and it is as the reputed son of Joseph and Mary and as a village carpenter that He appears before men. Few things in the Gospel story are more remarkable than the way in which the incidents of the Birth and Childhood seem to have passed into oblivion, considering the number of persons (shepherds, etc.) who came into connection with them. Two links between the past and the future remained for a time—Joseph and Mary. Directly, or indirectly, it is to them that we owe the preservation of those incidents in the Gospel sources. It has been remarked[1] that the early chapters of

[1] *v.* Ramsay, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* pp. 74, 88. Lepin, *Jésus, Messie et Fils de Dieu*, p. 60. 'De fait ces premières pages portent, pour ainsi dire, en elles mêmes, la preuve qu'elles sont un document palestinien, remontant aux origines mêmes du Christianisme.' Notice the extreme abruptness of the transition from the classical Greek Prologue of St. Luke (i. 1-5) to the record of the Birth and Childhood; from his own natural style of writing to the narratives, strongly Hebraic, which follow. The inference suggested is that the Evangelist was translating from early—perhaps contemporaneous—documents, preserving literal exactness, careless of style, and possibly giving reminiscences of conversations with the Virgin Mother herself. St. Matt. i., ii. bear all the marks of early Jewish-Christian tradition.

St. Matthew and St. Luke bear all the marks of primitive Palestinian tradition, with Joseph as the primal authority in the first case, the Blessed Virgin in the other. Each narrative bears strong

Cf. Allen, *St. Matt.* (International Critical Commentary), pp. 19-21. *v.* Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, p. 31. 'The accumulation of Hebraisms, which Luke employs especially in the early chapters of the Gospel, has led de Lagarde to form the fitting judgment that the colouring of these chapters is Hebraic—not Aramaic and not Greek.'

Wellhausen commences his notes on the Gospels of Matthew and Luke (1904) in each case at the third chapter, paying no attention to the narratives of the Infancy, although the title of the books is *Das Evangelium Matthaei*, (*Lucae*), *übersetzt und erklärt.* He entirely excludes these four chapters from the Canon of Scripture, without explanation or comment. If this subjection to his own presuppositions is 'scientific criticism,' a fresh definition of the term will be required. The presumption displayed in this silent rejection of Gospel narratives, which have ever been regarded as among the most precious of the Church's possessions, and which scholars of the first rank consider to be authentic and genuine portions of the Gospels to which they belong, would be ridiculous, if the matter were not so serious.

Compare B. Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, i. p. 283. 'It has been said that it is a contradiction in terms to admit a Messianic consciousness of Jesus before His Messianic Call. But in saying so, people confuse the consciousness of the choice to the highest Messianic calling, which came to Him as part of His Messianic consciousness, with the call of God to enter upon His Messianic work.'

evidence of authenticity. There is the conviction that the entrance into the world of Jesus of Nazareth was attended by circumstances of a 'supernatural' character, and in its expression it is linked with details which have every appearance of being historical. We have therefore a record of primitive tradition, the contents of which can only be rejected on the *à priori* ground of their 'supernaturalism,' so firmly are they imbedded in a narrative which bears its own witness to its congruity with the circumstances and life of the time.

How far these chapters can contribute to the settlement of the question as to the time of the awaking in Christ of His Messianic consciousness, it is not easy to say; but they seem to point to a gradual development preceding the Baptism. The mere fact that He went out to the Baptist demanding Baptism at his hands, goes to show that, prior to the Baptism itself, our Lord must have been possessed by the conviction that He stood in a certain peculiar relation to God, and that the career upon which He was entering would be one of very special significance. The story of the visit to the Temple at the age of twelve years is in keeping with that view; while

it is more than probable that His Mother would have taken occasion to speak of 'the things' which she had 'kept and pondered in her heart.'

On the whole, it seems reasonable to regard the Baptism as the point of the awakening of the full Messianic consciousness.[1] The evidence for the facts is full and complete, 'Petrine' Mark, Matthew, Luke, with allusions in the Fourth Gospel which can only be accounted for by the facts described in the Synoptics. These facts are of two different kinds. There is the actual process of the Baptism with the overcoming of the Baptist's reluctance to administer it; and there are the attendant miraculous occurrences of the descent of the Holy Spirit in visible form, and the voice of God owning Jesus as His Beloved Son and assuring Him of His good-will towards Him. St. Mark, closely followed by St. Matthew, speaks of these miraculous occurrences as known to Christ. Nothing is said of the bystanders. St. Luke speaks more generally, simply narrating the

[1] Wellhausen remarks: 'People have talked and written a great deal, even to the degree of weariness, about "the Self-consciousness of Jesus"' (*Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, p. 94); but after all there is no term so fitted to express what is required.

facts themselves. It is therefore to be inferred from the Synoptic account that they were experiences of Christ, the knowledge of which was afterwards communicated by Himself and so passed into the Gospel tradition. St. John speaks of the descent of the Holy Spirit, in the form of a Dove, being manifested to the Baptist as well as to Christ. The Evangelist, as a disciple of the Baptist before he became a disciple of Christ, would be likely to have first-hand information on the subject; and considering the part that the Baptist played in relation to the Messiah, it is only reasonable to suppose that he may have received some special intimation as to the identity of His kinsman with the expected Christ.

But, if there is one thing which comes out clearly in the Gospel narrative of the Baptism, it is that our Lord certainly from that moment—if not before—regarded Himself as the Anointed One, the Messiah of His people.[1]

In close connection with this critical point in

[1] Oscar Holtzmann, who regards the miraculous experiences of Christ at His Baptism as a process of an internal, spiritual character, says that they lose, on that account, none of their worth or meaning. 'Their world-historical and religious-historical significance is, at any rate,

His career and with His knowledge that He is the Messiah, stands that mysterious yet very real process—the Temptation. Apart from its full Synoptic authority, its truth is guaranteed by the fact that, without the express assurances of our Lord Himself, no Evangelist would have ventured on such a recital. Its place in the Gospels is its own verification. As Harnack remarks:[1] 'This recital goes on the supposition that He already regarded Himself as the Son of God . . . and that He has resisted temptations which bear upon His Messianic consciousness.' Like the first temptation to which man was exposed, this is symbolically described. It took place within the chamber of the inner spiritual life, although for

the awaking of the belief of Jesus in Himself as the Messiah. Christianity has from the first taken its stand upon the confession that Jesus is the Messiah, and this faith first entered into the soul of Jesus Himself, when He was baptized by John in the Jordan.' *Leben Jesu*, p. 106. 'The Gospel that lay sleeping within Him needed a special impulse to get free and become useful to the world. And Jesus received this impulse in the inspiring revelation at the Jordan.' *Ib.* p. 104 note. 'Ever since His Baptism, He had borne within Himself the consciousness of His Messiahship.' Wendt, *Die Lehre Jesu*, E.T. ii. p. 123. Cf. Just. Mar. *Dial.* c. 8.

[1] *Wesen des Christentums*, p. 88.

our comprehension, sensible images are employed.[1] Briefly, it is a challenge to the newly proclaimed Messiah to act upon and exploit the position assigned to Him, and to advance to His crown not in the way of obedience and suffering (if need be), but by a royal road of masterful assertion and power. It represents, however mysteriously, a distinct stage in the recognition of His Messianic claims. The spirit-world has become aware of them, and that knowledge re-appears in the narratives of demoniacal possession.

At what period the disciples became acquainted with the Messiahship of Christ is not so easily determined as some seem to think. It is generally held that their perception of the fact found its first articulate expression at the mouth of St. Peter at Caesarea Philippi, and our Lord's warm acknowledgment of that great Confession seems to confirm this view. Had the truth been part of the Apostolic equipment at an earlier time, we should expect a less epoch-making event than the

[1] 'Les différentes tentations furent invisibles, Jésus les éprouva dans sa pensée; c'est dans une vision de son imagination que le démon lui apparut; c'est en Esprit qu'il s'envola sur une haute montagne.' Le Père Rose, *Évangile selon S. Mathieu*, 1904, p. 23 (quoted by Lepin, *op. cit.* p. 93, note). *v.* B. Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, i. p. 323.

scene at Caesarea appears to have been. But as it stands in the Synoptic narrative, it is clearly a central incident in the Life of our Lord. He is profoundly moved by the convinced and warm-hearted outburst of His Apostle. Moreover, the incident marks a turning-point in the substance of His teaching.[1] No sooner does He find His followers possessed of some knowledge of His office and His claims, than He begins to reveal to them the method by which that office will be fulfilled. He does not take up and repeat the expression used by St. Peter, welcome as it had been to Him. But He employs His own Messianic Self-designation.[2]

On the other hand, there are indications that, before the occurrences at Caesarea Philippi, our Lord was, with more or less clearness, seen and acknowledged to be the Christ. The Baptist sends an embassy from his prison[3] to ask, 'Art Thou He that should come?' In

[1] 'From that time forth began Jesus to shew unto His disciples, how that He must go unto Jerusalem and suffer many things, etc.' Matt. xvi. 21.

[2] Mark viii. 31; Luke ix. 22. Matt. xvi. 21 describes Christ's teaching, but does not give the words. *v.* previous note, and *supra*, p. 113.

[3] Matt. xi. 3-6; Luke vii. 19-24.

His answer our Lord, in the presence of the multitude, bids the messengers report to John what they had seen and heard. Now every one of those matters which were to be reported was of Messianic character, especially the preaching of the Gospel to the poor.[1] If words mean anything, this incident is a proof that our Lord in the hearing of the people allowed it to be understood that all the signs of Messiahship were being exemplified in His own Person, and that the bystanders must have admitted, and acquiesced in, the fact. It is just one of those incidents in His Self-manifestation which imply more than the words appear literally to convey.[2]

Again, according to St. Matthew xiv. 33, after the stilling of the storm upon the lake, 'the disciples came and worshipped Him, saying, Of a truth, Thou art the Son of God.' In this there is at least an acknowledgment of His Messiahship.

Then there are the confessions of disciples,

[1] Cf. Luke iv. 18.

[2] 'To the question—How soon Jesus began to declare Himself the Messiah and to be regarded as such by others—the Evangelists almost unanimously reply, from the time of His Baptism.' Strauss, *Leben Jesu*, 1840, vol. ii. p. 6, E.T.

reported by St. John as taking place at the very beginning of our Lord's public Ministry. That these occurred in the precise forms which the Evangelist assigns to them has appeared to many to be difficult to believe. As they stand in the narrative, they represent a stage of knowledge which the Synoptic record places at a much later date. The first chapter of the Gospel contains two incidents in the course of which, Andrew in the one case (v. 41), and Philip in the other (v. 45), state that Jesus is the Messiah. Twice in the same chapter is our Lord declared to be the Son of God; by the Baptist (v. 34) and by Nathanael (v. 49). Earlier in the chapter (v. 29), the Baptist, looking at Jesus as He comes towards him, utters the remarkable words, which are a Gospel in themselves; 'Behold the Lamb of God, Which taketh away the sin of world.'[1] If the Baptist may be said to possess the gift of prophecy—an explanation which is quite reasonable—[2] how are we to account for the other confessions? It has been suggested that St. John looking back upon His Master's Life as a whole, and knowing that there was in Him from the first that which only came to be recognised

[1] Cf. v. 36. [2] *v.* Matt. xi. 9 = Luke vii. 26.

later on, put into men's mouths expressions which, however true, were, as spoken by them on the occasions named, anticipations, anachronisms. But we have to bear in mind that the expectation of the Messiah was in the air, and would be especially entertained by those who were attracted by the preaching of the Baptist. Then it is to be observed that the Fourth Gospel is no less clear than the Synoptics in showing that our Lord forbore, throughout His ministry, to urge His Messianic claims, and that the people generally remained in doubt concerning them[1] for a considerable time until, after a certain course of development, their Messianic faith culminated in the events of Palm Sunday.[2] But after all allowance is made for these considerations, it must be admitted that the confessions of Christ as Messiah and as the Son of God, which St. John places so early in His Ministry, do appear to be somewhat coloured by the reflectiveness of the Evangelist himself. They have doubtless an

[1] *v.* Jo. x. 24.

[2] *v.* Lepin, *op. cit.* p. 123. 'The main course of the Ministry is not conceived differently in the Fourth Gospel and in the Synoptics.' Sanday, *Criticism of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 165.

historic basis. Here and there elect souls did recognise in Jesus that which the devout Jew expected to find in 'The Coming One';[1] but in the memory of the aged Evangelist, their utterances are perhaps heightened by the glow and warmth of his own devotion to the Person of his Lord.

To sum up the evidence as a whole—we shall not be far wrong if we take the confession at Caesarea as the expression of a firm and, by this time, settled conviction, on the part of the disciples, of the Messiahship of Jesus. On account of its calm and steady assurance it was welcomed by Him as no preceding expression had been. But we cannot refuse to notice the indications—in the Synoptics as well as in St. John—which point to previous intuitions of the fact with here and there an utterance, more or less intelligent, of growing faith.

We have next to inquire what Messiahship meant to our Lord; and this question involves

[1] Cf. Barth, *Die Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesu*, p. 231. 'Even in the case of the disciples, it was only here and there that the impression that Jesus was the Messiah ventured to assert itself, and it is psychologically understandable that this occurred on their first becoming acquainted with Jesus and again after the miraculous Feeding (Matt. xiv. 33).'

another. Did its meaning vary during the the course of His Ministry, or was it throughout same?

Nothing comes more clearly out of the Gospel narrative than the strongly marked Jewish type of our Lord's Personality and mode of thought. He was steeped in the knowledge of the ancient Scriptures of His people. To fulfil by spiritualising the Law was one of the objects of His Mission. If He could not claim anticipation of Himself in His reading of those Scriptures—if there was no link between Himself and the life and hopes of Israel, He could not be the Christ. It was one of the first tasks which the Pentecostal Church had to carry out, to show the identity of Jesus of Nazareth with the Messiah of the Old Testament.[1]

As our Lord found the title ready for His use, He adopted it. But His attitude towards it was of a double character. While it connected Him with the past History of His people and was therefore of the utmost value in the authentification of His claims, He was hampered by its connotation at every turn; and so we find Him admitting it, and yet shrinking from its employment: owning it when challenged, but choosing another designation

[1] Acts ii. 36, ix. 22, etc.

when speaking of Himself. This double attitude has given rise to various theories and is not always easy to explain. That it gave occasion to much questioning at the time is shown repeatedly.[1] In addition to this difficulty, there is also the curious fact that, although Christ Himself came preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom—the good news of the reign of Messiah—and although He commissioned and sent out His Apostles with the same message, yet we find Him again and again urging upon people not to make Himself or His doings known.[2] So that we again have a double attitude to explain—the command of publicity and the command of silence.

As we have seen already, the Messianic conception of the Jewish people had become so involved with temporal and material expectations that it hindered our Lord in the course of His work. Hence, in part, His choice of 'the Son of Man' as a term of Self-designation. But can we assign any change—if not in the sphere of His Self-consciousness yet—in the mode of expression of His Messianic character, to any period of His Ministry? That His course stood out clearly

[1] *e.g.* John vii. 2. 3, x. 24.

[2] Mark ix. 30, v. 43; Matt. ix. 30. Cf. Mark vii. 24.

before Him, at least from the moment of His Baptism and Temptation, we may feel sure. He was not *surprised* into the rôle of the suffering Redeemer.[1] 'He knew what was in man,' and with the lives of the Prophet-Saints of His people always in His mind, He could foresee the certain conflict which would arise when the true character of His teaching was grasped. From the first, suffering and death would appear only too probable a result; and coming as He did, to do His Father's will, He was prepared for whatever issue might be before Him. But there are not wanting indications of a change in His point of view, as well as in His method. More than once He is astonished at the reception which He gets. It is as if He stands aghast at a hardness and obstinacy which He was not prepared for. He is 'astonished,' 'grieved,' 'angry';[2] and as these epithets are no mere figures of speech, but cover mental phenomena, we cannot avoid the conclusion that, if not in its main purpose, yet at least in the

[1] The murder of the Baptist evidently came to our Lord's ears as a note of warning. We can gather this from St. Matthew's way of hinting at its effect on Him. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνεχώρησεν ἐκεῖθεν ἐν πλοίῳ εἰς ἔρημον τόπον κατ' ἰδίαν (xiv. 13).

[2] Mark vi. 6, iii. 5.

method of its expression, and in the mode of its operation, the Messiahship of our Lord underwent modification.[1] It encountered obstacles which had to be taken account of. It was not a work which could be equally carried out with, or without, the co-operation of those whom He came to save. It was no magical act which could work its charm on men with or without their consent. Circumstances alter cases; and if these considerations do not entirely remove the difficulties we have indicated, they at least help us to understand that the double attitude taken up by our Lord in respect to His Messiahship, now admitting, now veiling it, now publishing, now silencing its proclamation, arose from the mode of its reception. His unchanging purpose was modified because He would not work against, but with, men. What seems at first sight inconsistent, is but that accommodation of method to circumstance, which wisdom requires.

A critical turning point for our Lord in His teaching—if not in His own conception—of His

[1] Cf. Gardner, *Exploratio Evangelica*, p. 179. 'We may perhaps distinguish two periods in the Master's Life: first, a time of joyous serenity and unclouded hope; and second, a time when a temporary failure of His mission, culminating in His own death, dwelt before His eyes.'

Messiahship, occurred at Caesarea Philippi. From that time the idea of rejection by His people, of death and resurrection, stood out clearly before Him and became the subject of His teaching. It was an idea quite foreign to the Jewish mind. The suffering Servant of Isaiah found no place in popular Messianic thought,[1] and when our Lord uses expressions which are reminiscent of that prophetic description, He as usual speaks as 'Son of Man.'

It is probable that the change in His mode of teaching was attended with a certain amount of disappointment. The expressions used by St. Mark admit of such a view of His attitude. And along with the disappointment at the reception of Himself and of His Message, would naturally come the reluctance to be spoken of and followed about, by people who were attracted by His Miracles, or 'because they did eat of the loaves and were filled.' Hence, while holding to His part as Messiah and resolute in His purpose, He again and again prohibits men from making Him known.

But the apparent contradictions which, as is suggested, arose from the attitude of the people

[1] *v.* Stanton in Hastings, *D.B.* ii. p. 354[2].

and from the effect which it had upon our Lord's method, require no such theory for their resolution as that of J. Weiss. According to this scholar, our Lord's Messiahship will be realised at the end of all things. The Kingdom of Heaven being entirely in the future, the Messiah-King will only begin His reign 'when that which is perfect has come.' If therefore Jesus allowed Himself to be called Messiah, it was only in anticipation of His future rôle, not as the expression of a present fact: and hence the admissions, together with the prohibitions, which seem to stand out in such glaring contrast in the Gospel narrative.[1] For Jesus was not the Founder of the Kingdom: He merely announced it. He exercised no Messianic activity. He only waited, along with the rest of mankind, for God to bring in the Kingdom supernaturally. The Missionary journey of the disciples was not for the extension of the Kingdom, but was simply an announcement of its nearness. But it was not so near as Jesus suspected at the time. The cause of the delay was the hardness of unrepentant hearts. His death would evidently be

[1] J. Weiss, *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes*, p. 158, etc. Schweitzer, *Das Abendmahl*, ii. 66, etc. Loisy, *L'Évangile et l'Église*, p. 84 ff.

required as an atonement, to be followed by a return in glory within the life-time of the present generation. The setting up of the Kingdom would be preceded by the Judgment.[1] In this construction of our Lord's attitude by Weiss, there is much which is suggestive; but to throw the Kingdom of the Messiah so entirely into the future, and to limit the activity of the Messiah Himself, as regards His earthly life-time, to mere proclamation of its advent, is surely to fail in doing justice to the facts in evidence. Nothing is more certain, if we follow the Gospel narrative, than that our Lord founded and legislated for a kingdom upon earth. As Bousset has pointed out, the life of Christ was not spent in anxious expectation, but in cheerful activity. So far from being only distinguishable from that of John the Baptist by His Messianic Self-consciousness, His Ministry was characterised by an interest and joy in life, which His contemporaries noted and compared with the severity and isolation of the Baptist. His career is already Messianic, as shown by His answer to the emis-

[1] *v.* Schweitzer, *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, p. 236 ff. He gives an account of J. Weiss's views, strongly expressing his approval. Cf. Sanday, *The Life of Christ in Recent Research*, p. 56 ff.

saries of the Baptist. 'It is among the certainties of our Gospel narratives that Jesus acknowledged Himself already in His earthly life, in the presence of His disciples and of the High Priest, to be the Messiah and that as such He made His entry into Jerusalem.'[1]

The theory of J. Weiss may therefore be said not to be borne out by the evidence. Reference to the passages in which our Lord is represented as acknowledging His Messiahship, at once shows that He is thinking of the present age, as well as of that which is to come. No doubt the full glory of His reign and the complete fulfilment of His Messianic office lie beyond this present dispensation; but in fact and in reality Jesus is King, and at this moment, as when He was on earth, is accomplishing the work which He came to do.[2]

In germ and in actuality the kingdom is begun: Jesus is Christ in Galilee and at Jerusalem; and if there is change in His own conceptions of His

[1] *v.* Schweitzer, *op. cit.* p. 242. Cf. Bousset, *Jesus*, pp. 82, 83. Sanday, *The Life of Christ in Recent Research*, p. 64.

[2] Although many of the parables are clearly eschatological, a certain number no less clearly deal with the life of the present age. J. Weiss is surely at fault, when he denies to Christ the office of a Teacher and limits His activity to that of the Prophet.

office and in His mode of dealing with it in His teaching, such change can be accounted for by the attitude of His hearers and by the fact that on an unwilling people, He would force neither Himself nor His claims.

We have next to inquire what was the precise meaning which the Messiahship had for our Lord Himself. As stated above, His conception is rooted in the religion of the Old Testament. If He is the Christ, He is the subject of prophecy and the object of the expectations of His people. 'To Him give all the prophets witness,' is the assertion of St. Peter at Caesarea;[1] and in our Lord's own language, and in His acceptance of the language applied to Him, we find the same admission. He enters upon His Ministry surrounded by the atmosphere of the Old Testament, filled with its spirit and conscious of its application to Himself.[2]

The Old Testament conception of an anointed people, which should one day reign over its

[1] Acts x. 43, *v. suprà*, p. 128.

[2] 'The revelation of God in the Scriptures of the Old Testament, which formed the foundation of the religion of Israel, had been always fully recognised by Jesus; only in constant intercourse with it had His own religious consciousness become developed.' B. Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, i. p. 272.

enemies, became focussed in that of a single Person. Messianic expectations began to centre in a Messiah. But before that change took place the hopes of the people rested on a line of Davidic Kings, who should recall and continue the glorious period of David and Solomon. The transition from a Messianic succession of Kings to a King-Messiah is to be traced in Isaiah and Micah.[1] The Psalter is full of a personal Messiah. In Daniel ix. 25, 26, we have the term itself employed for the first time in Scripture.[2]

In the post-Canonical Apocalyptic literature the Messianic conception varies considerably. Writings of the second century B.C. allude to a

[1] Is. vii. 14-17, ix. 1-8, xi.; Micah v. There is no sufficient evidence for Cheyne's contention that the Isaiah passages are post-Exilic. Perhaps the question is one to which Cheyne's own remark applies: 'The student must not be in a hurry and must sometimes let difficult problems wait till he is riper for them.' *Encycl. Bibl.* ii. pp. 2193 ff. *v.* G. A. Smith, Art. 'Isaiah' in Hastings, *D.B.* ii. pp. 487-8.

[2] According to Kamphausen (in *Encycl. Bibl.* i. p. 1006), in Dan. ix. 'the range of vision is limited to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes,' and 'the anointed one,' in vv. 26, 27, 'is the high priest Onias III., who was put to death in 171 B.C.' However this may be, a Messianic application is clearly intended.

personal Messiah and to an Eternal Kingdom set up on earth.[1]

In the next century there is still hope of a Messiah, but he will be an ordinary man and his Kingdom temporary. Side by side with this conception, we find that of a supernatural Being, who is called 'the Son of Man,' 'the Anointed One,' etc.[2]

Into this inheritance of thought, Canonical and post-Canonical, our Lord entered at the usual time for the instruction of Jewish boys. We cannot doubt that its influence in the development of His consciousness of the object and scope of His Mission must have been very great. It would form a background and a setting for those acknow-

[1] *Orac. Sibyll.* iii. 652. Καὶ τότ' ἀπ' ἠελίοιο Θεὸς πέμψει βασιλῆα κ.τ.λ. The Sibylline oracles are generally assigned to the latter half of the second century B.C. Ethiopian Enoch, *circa* B.C. 166, speaks (xc. 37) of a personal Messiah under the symbolism of a white Bullock. Apart from these two allusions, the non-canonical Apocalyptic literature of this century contains little or no reference to Messiah.

[2] In Ps. of Solomon, xvii. 36, the Messiah is called Χριστὸς Κύριος but His temporary character is denoted by the expression (xvii. 42) οὐκ ἀσθενήσει ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ. In *Ethiop. Enoch*, xlvi. 1-6, He is represented as the Son of Man, subduing and punishing sinners, putting down the Kings from their seats (cf. 1 Sam. ii. 6 and Lu. i. 52). More than human powers are assigned to Him.

ledgments of His Person and office which the Evangelists tell us were given from heaven at His Baptism and at His Transfiguration. If He could not appeal to the testimony of Scripture, if there had been no preparation for Him in thought, He could not have advanced His claims with any prospect of success.

When, therefore, we try to make out what Messiahship meant to Jesus, we have to bear in mind that His conception would be conditioned by what He found awaiting Him in the religious thought of His people. He came not to destroy, but to fulfil, the hope and faith which had been men's comfort during the ages of patient waiting. Now the burden of that Messianic hope was deliverance. Centuries of captivity and of oppression had made it appear to be the one great need, both for the nation and the individual, and it was round that idea that men's thoughts clustered.

Deliverance was consequently the object which Christ set before Himself in forming plans for His Ministry. But deliverance from what? As stated above, the greatest hindrance to our Lord's work among men lay in the national and political aspirations which had become connected with the

Messiahship; for the deliverance which He contemplated was from the bondage of the heart and will: it was moral and spiritual and had to do, not with the nation as a whole, but with the individual. It was deliverance from the control and guilt of sin. His Kingdom was not of this world; and when He learned by experience that men would not receive Him in the capacity in which alone He had set Himself to act, He was disappointed, and we hear Him giving expression to the feeling; 'Ye will not come to Me that ye might have life.'[1] There was nothing in what He had to offer that appealed to the people at large. Only here and there He met with a response.

And along with disappointment came the growing conviction that the end would be a tragedy. Rejection became hostility, and such hostility could only issue in one way. How far our Lord was prepared for this result, we cannot tell. We know that He came to do His Father's will, and that He would go straight on in the way of obedience, whatever it might involve. We have seen reason to think that the method of His teaching was conditioned by the attitude of the people; and

[1] John v. 40.

from the various expressions of disappointment and sorrow which escape Him from time to time, we can infer that it was only gradually that He came to realise what His Ministry would cost Him. At the same time, the increasing hostility which He met with would deepen in His own mind the conviction of the seriousness of sin and lead Him to clearer understanding of the necessity of the Cross.

If, therefore, He knew Himself to be the Messianic Saviour from sin, we should expect to find some indication of the fact in His own words, and also of the part which His own Person would play in the working out of redemption. In St. Mark x. 45[1] we have the idea that the life of the Son of Man will be an expiatory sacrifice, voluntarily offered up. The specific object—deliverance from sin—is not named, but we get it in St. Matthew's account of the Last Supper.[2] And the purpose of the Saviour, to be accomplished by His death, is at least hinted at by His assumption of authority to forgive sin.[3] His own teaching must have

[1] Matt. xx. 28. Cf. Lu. xxii. 19, 20.

[2] xxvi. 28, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. On the critical treatment of this phrase see Robertson in *Dict. of Christ*, i. p. 73.

[3] Mark ii. 10; Matt. ix. 6.

conditioned the form taken by the prophecy of Caiaphas concerning Him,[1] that He was to 'die for that nation and not for that nation only.' In the thought of our Lord Himself and of His contemporaries, we have the germ of the elaborated theology of Redemption which forms so large a part of Apostolic teaching—Redemption from sin through the Death and Resurrection of the Messiah.[2]

It was with this object before Him that our Lord set His face stedfastly towards His passion and death. In the final ascent to Jerusalem, He makes His Sufferings, Death and Resurrection the subject of distinct forewarning to the disciples,[3] and declares that they are the object of prophecy concerning the Son of Man. The entry into

[1] John xi. 49-53.

[2] Jülicher asserts 'that for Redemption in the sense of the subsequent dogma, for Reconciliation, for Justification, there is no place in the Gospel of Jesus, that it is a fact that Paul first constructed all these doctrines.' *Paulus und Jesus*, 1907, p. 9. The passages cited above suffice to negative this assertion. The Pauline Gospel is not 'another.' It is the logical expression of the Synoptic Gospel with its application to the needs of men. The 'Kluft' between Christ and St. Paul is the work of the critic's spade. It had no existence in fact.

[3] Mk. x. 33 and parallels.

Jerusalem is the coming of the Saviour King to His own city; and when He stands before the Council and before Pilate, His Messianic claim comes out with a clearness which none can mistake. The original narrative, St. Mark xiv. 61, 62, gives the answer of our Lord to the question of the High Priest, 'Art Thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?' as a direct affirmative, 'I am.' The strongly Jewish designation, 'the Blessed,' is itself an indication of the originality of the Marcan account. St. Matthew modifies St. Mark's 'I am' by the more vague 'Thou hast said.'[1] St. Luke gives 'Ye say that I am.' But that the answer as thus modified amounts practically to the Marcan version is clear from the words which immediately follow, 'And they said, What need we any further witness? for we ourselves have heard of His own mouth.'[2] They understood Him to claim to be

[1] 'The phrase is an implied affirmative.' Allen, *op. cit. in loco* (xxvi. 64). 'Matthew's form σὺ εἶπας and Mark's ἐγώ εἰμι clearly mean the same thing.' Salmon, *The Human Element in the Gospels*, p. 503.

[2] Lu. xxii. 71. When therefore Schmidt says (*The Prophet of Nazareth*, p. 125) 'The meaning is unmistakably, "Ye say that I am the Messiah, but I have made no such statement,"' he is making an assertion which is entirely without support from the sources, and which is negatived by the plain meaning of the immediate context.

the Messiah, the Son of God; and with that claim as the basis of their charge against Him, they bring Him to Pilate, laying stress, when they come before the Governor, rather on the Kingly than the Messianic pretensions of their prisoner, as being more likely to influence his decision.[1] The Roman would naturally pay more attention to a political claim than to one which concerned a religion which, so far as he was acquainted with it, he treated with contemptuous indifference. But when our Lord stood before him and Pilate asked about this reputed Kingship, there is again the same assent given. He admits the Royal dignity. He could not do otherwise, far as the Roman's interpretation of the fact might be from the truth. He endured to have written over His cross Pilate's inscription, half satire, half acknowledgment, of the Kingly claim.[2] It was a title foreign to His

[1] Lu. xxiii. 2, 3. Cf. Mk. xv. 2; Matt. xxvii. 11.

[2] Cf. John xix. 21, 22, a passage which is confirmed by what we elsewhere read of the character of Pilate. 'We have no ground for doubting that the *αἰτία*, on account of which Pilate carried out the death sentence, is correctly given in the phrase *ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων*.' Wellhausen, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, p. 92. 'He has asserted His Jewish Kingship before Pilate, and thereby given him legal ground for His condemnation.' Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, p. 256.

own spiritual purposes, distracting men's minds from His main office and mission; but its truth must be admitted and He receives it for what it is worth.[1]

Our Lord displays the same reserve in the case of another Messianic title, 'Son of David.' He does not actually apply it to Himself, but He accepts it. The promise of a perpetual Kingship of the house of David was a standing fact for every Israelite and formed the background of the Messianic prophecies of Isaiah, Micah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Zechariah.[2] In the Psalms of Solomon, we find the expression 'Son of David' as a Messianic title for the first time.[3] The Gospel

[1] According to Dalman (*Die Worte Jesu*, pp. 256, 7) it was not the mere assertion of His Messiahship, but the form which He gave to it, that procured Christ's condemnation. The bare claim to the title of Messiah would not have been construed as blasphemy. Wellhausen appears to follow Dalman, but adds that the actual cause of our Lord's condemnation was His threat of the destruction of the Temple. *Das Evangelium Marci*, p. 132. In any case it was the political, rather than the religious aspect of His claim, which the Jews emphasized before Pilate.

[2] Dalman, *D. Worte Jesu*, p. 260. *v.* 2 Sam. vii. 16. Cf. Pss. ii. and cx.

[3] Id. *ib.* *v.* Ps. Sol. xvii. 23. Ἴδε, κύριε, καὶ ἀνάστησον αὐτοῖς τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν υἱὸν Δαυίδ. Εἰς τὸν καιρὸν ὃν εἵλου σὺ, ὁ Θεός, τοῦ βασιλεῦσαι ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ παῖδά σου.

tradition represents the feeling current in our Lord's day that the Messiah will be actually a member of the family of David.[1] 'Son of David,' applied to our Lord, is therefore equivalent to a recognition of His Messiahship.

Now, although He does not in so many words apply the title to Himself, our Lord makes it the subject of a searching question which He puts to the Pharisees on the eve of His passion. Citing Ps. cx., He asks, if David call the Messiah Lord, how is He David's Son? Can He be both David's Lord and David's Son? The inference is clear. It is not, as some have strangely drawn it, that Christ repudiates His Davidic ancestry.[2] What He implies is the more than merely human

[1] *v.* Matt. i. 1, Lu. i. 32 (the Angel at the Annunciation), ii. 4, Mk. x. 47, Jo. vii. 42.

[2] *e.g.* Wellhausen, *Evangelium Marci*, p. 104. 'Jesus designates it a mere opinion of the Scribes that the Messiah is the Son of David and refutes it with a saying of David himself, which proves the opposite.' But our Lord names the Scribes as acknowledged interpreters of Scripture: it was not their idea only. As we have seen above, the Davidic ancestry of the Messiah was a fixed point in current Jewish thought and belief. It is surely an unwarrantable interpretation of our Lord's question—so provocative of thought—'How is He then his Son?' to say that it is a contradiction of the idea.

character of One Who is—according to the belief of His hearers in their own Scriptures—the Lord of His royal ancestor. His argument was a warning. If such was the true character of the Messiah, let them beware how they dealt with One Whose claim to Messiahship had at least come before them, and was soon to be so wonderfully vindicated.

For it was but two or three days before, that, at His entry into Jerusalem, Jesus had been greeted as 'Son of David' by a great and enthusiastic crowd. The narrative has fourfold attestation. The original account (St. Mark xi. 1-12) makes the people hail the advent of the Kingdom of David—*i.e.* the rule of the Messiah—in the Person of Jesus. We can trace in their salutation both the Old Testament idea of a Davidic Kingship, and the later concentration of the Messianic hope in a descendant of David.[1] St. Matthew (xxi. 1-12) modifies the Marcan description. The people directly acclaim Jesus as the Son of David; and the Evangelist preserves the kingly idea by his quotation from Isaiah

[1] *v. supra*, pp. 136 ff. Cf. H. Holtzmann, *Das Messianische Bewusstsein Jesu*, 1907, p. 27, note 4, for different views of the question.

and Zechariah in verse 5. To St. Luke (xix. 28-41) it sufficed to record the greeting to 'the King.' He omits the name of David, as of less interest to his Gentile readers, and also the Hebrew expression Hosanna. But to him, as to the other Evangelists, the title 'King' would at once be associated with the Davidic ancestry of Jesus. So with St. John (xii. 12-20); 'Hosanna: Blessed is the King of Israel, that cometh in the Name of the Lord,' is suggestive of Christ's descent from the great king of God's undivided people. Thus all four Evangelists state or imply the ascription of Davidic ancestry to Jesus: all alike record that the multitude cried 'Blessed is He (St. Mark, "the Kingdom," St. Luke and St. John, "the King") that cometh in the Name of the Lord.'

CHAPTER VII

AUTHORITY AND KNOWLEDGE

So far we have seen reason to think that our Lord believed Himself to be the Messiah, and that He was acknowledged to be such by His own disciples and by the people at large.

This appears in the authority with which He spoke, and in the character of His teaching.

As we have seen,[1] our Lord, according to the Logia (Q) element of the First and Third Gospels, claims the right to revise, by expurgation or by addition, the ancient Law of His people. Prophets had spoken in God's Name and by His command. They were mouthpieces giving utterance to the Divine Will. Christ, as we see by His language, considers *Himself* the fountain of authority; 'I say unto you.'

As 'Son of Man,' He takes upon Himself the

[1] p. 54.

right to legislate for the observance of the Sabbath,[1] and to over-ride if necessary every fixed, historic rule pertaining to it: a claim which, in view of the regulations guarding the day, must have seemed to His hearers one of extraordinary audacity. It is for man's use, not for his slavish observance. It lies within man's power[2] to order his attitude towards it, for man is lord of the

[1] Mark ii. 27, 28.

[2] 'The Son of Man' here, according to Grotius = 'man.' So Wellhausen, who says that Christ 'does not justify *Himself* with the principle "man is Lord of the Sabbath," but His disciples, for it is they who have broken it.' *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, p. 94. 'If the conclusion is to be valid, the leading word must be the same in it as in the premise—the Sabbath is for Man and not Man for the Sabbath, therefore Man is Lord of the Sabbath.' Id. *Das Evangelium Marci*, p. 22. On the other hand, in Matt. xii. 8, where the words 'The Son of Man is Lord of the Sabbath' come in a different connection, Wellhausen (*ad loc. Das Evangelium Matthaei*, p. 59) says: 'Not as Man, but because He is the Messiah and greater than the Temple, is Jesus Lord of the Sabbath.'

Cf. Lemme, *Jesu Wissen und Weisheit*, 1907, p. 24. 'Such an interpretation (Mk. ii. 27), could never have been given by a Jewish prophet; it constituted a radical breach with all the sacred history of Israel; it was only possible in the mouth of One Who was more than a Prophet, Who looked upon the Mosaic revelation of God merely as a shadow of what He Himself was bringing, because He was rooted in the depths of Eternity.'

Sabbath Day. But it is 'The Son of Man' who confers that power, and it is only through and in Him, and so far as he is possessed of His Spirit, that man can lord it over the Sabbath. That the impression caused by Christ's attitude was profound, can be gathered from the way in which His action, embodying as it did His teaching, inflamed the minds of the ruling classes against Him and led to His apprehension.[1] In their judgment it involved His setting Himself above the Law, and therefore a trenching upon the Divine prerogative. Our Lord took no steps to remove this interpretation, nor could He, for it was the only one which answered to the facts.

His authority reaches into Eternity. To be known by Him 'in that day' as one who has done the will of God will give right of entrance into heaven. To be unknown by Him will mean rejection. Mere lip-service will not avail. Hearing and doing Christ's words will alone safeguard our future.[2]

[1] Mk. iii. 6.

[2] Comparing Matt. vii. 24 and 26 with vii. 21, we get the result that to do the will of God, and to do (to carry out in action) the words of Christ amount to the same thing, in Christ's own judgment.

Cf. Harnack, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das N. Testament*,

His knowledge of what passes in that unseen world, in which the intercourse and communion between the soul and God takes place, is complete. He can lay down the Laws of Prayer, for He knows what occurs beyond the veil of sense, when prayer is being offered, and reports to us accordingly. In touch with man on the one side and with God on the other, He and He alone can watch the phenomena of prayer, can trace the causes of its success or failure, can regulate its methods, giving us the language and character of the prayer that will always be heard, warning us against the prayer that will always fail.[1]

He claims a power over the spiritual life of mankind which would argue nothing short of a delirious presumption in a mere man. 'Come unto Me all ye that labour and are heavy laden and I will give you rest.'[2] The invitation is

ii. p. 164. 'On obedience to His (Christ's) commands, which is the same thing as the doing of the Father's will, will rest the decision whether a man has built his house on the rock or on the sand.'

[1] Matt. vi. 9-13, vii. 7-11; Lu. xi. 1-14.

[2] Matt. xi. 28 ff. Von Soden omits this passage from his *Logia* material. It occurs only in Matt. Harnack, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in d. Neue Testament*, ii. p. 211 ff. hesitates, partly on this ground, to assign it definitely to 'Q,' but

extended to mankind as a whole, in so far as burden and distress of soul are experienced. No one man, however gifted, could assume such an attitude, or issue such an invitation. If the words are taken seriously—and there is no passage in the Gospels which conveys a fuller sense of earnestness and directness of purpose—the speaker claims to take up a position towards sin- and sorrow-burdened humanity, which would mock, if it could not relieve.

Unless some deep truth is involved in this invitation, it clearly betrays the inflated and ecstatic accents of a vain presumption. Imagine any ordinary man, of whatever power or eminence, issuing broadcast to the human race such an invitation. If Jesus Christ issues it, it means that He claims the possession of a personal gift which can affect and ameliorate the lot of all sorts and conditions of men. Something in Himself, which He alone can impart, can touch all humanity for their good. Who can He be, Who speaks thus,

seems to incline to that, and not to the secondary source, from internal reasons. As he observes, the Aramaic character of its origin is unmistakable. It follows appropriately on vv. 25-28, which belong certainly to 'Q.' The fact that the Cross and Passion are not named he considers to be a strong indication that the passage was in 'Q' (*v. suprà*, p. 63 n.) and that it goes back to Jesus Himself.

and the truth of Whose words has been experienced by the multitudes who, in every age, have responded to His call!

Again, at the end of the long discourse, delivered upon the Mount of Olives shortly before the last Passover, Christ makes known the principle on which He, the Son of Man, sitting on the Throne of His glory, will decide the destiny of 'all nations.' It will depend for each individual person on whether or not he has befriended the King Himself in the person of the least of His brethren, in his time of need. The Judge will make the attitude and conduct of men towards Himself, as shown in their treatment of the humblest of those who serve Him, the decisive factor in the disposing of their lot. A more far-reaching and tremendous utterance it would be hard to find in the Christology of St. Paul or St. John.[1] Even those who have not heard of

[1] The passage Matt. xxv. 31-46, occurs only in Matt. and is not assigned by v. Soden to 'Q,' but it is manifestly authentic and may well have formed part of the *Logia* to which Allen, *Comm. in loco* refers it. Harnack, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das N.T.* ii. p. 129, excludes it from 'Q' (as not being contained in Luke), 'For every support for its belonging to it is wanting,' but he does not enter into particulars to show this.

Christ, who unconsciously have been acting in His Spirit and according to His will, He claims as actuated by love to Him, though they know it not.[1] Only Christ Himself could have spoken thus. The primitive church would not have dared to place such words in His mouth. Christian charity could not have ventured thus to interpret His mind. If it be argued that such a claim is an indication of its own lateness, as embodying a high conception of the Person of Christ, it must be remembered that the conception of the Person is accompanied by strong insistence on the ethical character of His requirements. The Person is honoured, but indirectly through charity and tenderness to His people. This is entirely in keeping with what the Gospels elsewhere say of Him, 'Who came not to be ministered unto, but to minister'; and it is illustrated by such sayings imputed to Him as 'He that receiveth you receiveth Me.'[2]

To the risen Lord St. Matthew assigns the

[1] 'God's purpose is larger than His Church on earth. There are last in the knowledge of God, who shall be first in His acceptance, because they practised all they knew.' Gore, *The Church and the Ministry*, p. 45.

[2] Matt. x. 40. Cf. *v.* 42.

fullest and most far reaching declaration of His own authority, contained in the Gospels, 'All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth.'[1] Such is His greeting as He comes forward to meet (*προσέλθων*) the disciples, who had come together upon a mountain in Galilee, the trysting place, which He Himself had appointed (*οὗ ἐτάξατο αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς*).[2] The passage is remarkable for several reasons. Our Lord speaks in the first person, as on other occasions after His Resurrection. The need for the reserve which so often seems to cling to His use of the third person (the Son of Man) has passed away. The authority claimed is universal; all cosmical relations, all the activities of heaven as well as all earthly history are in His hand, by the will of the Father. The saying receives support from such passages as St. Matthew xi. 27, St. Luke x. 22, and is in accordance with the teaching of the Fourth Gospel. It finds points of contact with St. Paul.[3] To say

[1] xxviii. 18. It seems natural to connect the Father's gift of power with the Resurrection: but the verb is a timeless aorist, *ἐδόθη*, and may therefore imply a wider and earlier ground for its bestowal than the fact of the Resurrection.

[2] By the angel at the Tomb, vv. 5-8.

[3] Col. i. 16-19; 1 Cor. xv. 27, 28.

the least, it brings us very far on the road to the full Christian conception of our Lord.[1]

Then, as to the character of Christ's Teaching. There is the same sure touch about all His sayings; no doubt or hesitation; nothing tentative, as though He were feeling His way towards the truth. He never has to recall or modify a statement. Different truths and aspects of truth, sometimes so unlike as to appear at first sight contradictory, come from His lips with the same directness. It is not always easy to reconcile them with one another. He flings them out upon the world as though careless of their future, leaving them to be understood or not, trusting to time to justify them, knowing that it will require more than one age for them to find their full application, and an eternity to exhaust their meaning.

Another characteristic is the universality of His teaching. It is effective because it corresponds with what is highest and best in every kind of character. He is Himself Oriental, Semitic, Jewish. His language is that of His people. It would be unreal and lacking in power if it were

[1] For further discussion of the passage and its context *v. infrà*, pp. 217 ff.

not. It would fail to touch the hearts of men if it were wanting in individuality, in local colour; if it showed no signs of the influence of His surroundings.[1] But it is never imprisoned in those surroundings. There is that in it which exceeds the bounds of time and place. It passes naturally over the borders of the East, and is recognised by the West as true to the life of the West. Indeed one of the marvels of Christ's teaching is that, though a child of the East, it has found in the West its widest and most fruitful acceptance. Compare this fact with the fate which has attended the teaching of Buddha or of Mahomet. Each, like Christ, was an Oriental. Each, unlike Christ, has been powerless to influence the West. But the race has yet to be found which cannot find in the teaching of Christ the expression of its best and deepest thought, the answer to its most pressing questionings. Authority, sureness, universality of scope and bearing, lift His teaching above that of every other religious Leader.

[1] Cf. Loisy, *L'Évangile et l'Église*, p. 106. 'Rien ne pouvait faire que Jésus ne fût pas juif; il n'était homme qu'à la condition d'appartenir à une branche de l'humanité.'

And it has all the elements of permanence. This is His own claim for it.[1] His words are living. As they pass down through time, they require fresh interpretation, regarding from new standpoints, perhaps re-setting like a costly jewel; but no change. While human nature lasts, they will never fail to teach. 'He was conscious of speaking the last decisive word; was persuaded that He was final and that none would come after Him.'[2] It is true that all great literature has something of universality and finality in it, or it would live but for a day. But what prophet or poet has dared to claim for his utterance a life beyond that of heaven and earth? Christ *does* make that claim; and those who have known Him best see nothing incongruous in it, for they have experienced, with many besides St. John, the truth of His saying, 'The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life.'[3]

The secret of the authority, the sureness, the universality and the permanence of our Lord's teaching lay in the knowledge which formed its basis. We must therefore examine what is said in

[1] Mk. xiii. 31. [2] Bousset, *Jesus*, p. 87.
[3] vi. 63. *v.* Westcott, *ad loc.*

the Synoptic Gospels of the nature and extent of that knowledge.

In approaching this—perhaps the most difficult of all the subjects connected with the Person of our Lord, we need to keep close to the original sources and to beware of reading them under the influence of theory. If we find that our Lord does not know something, it is not for us to suggest that *in a sense*, He *does* know it, because the theory which we have adopted regarding His knowledge, seems to require some such 'Vermittlungshypothese.' Any view of His Person, which can only be consistently maintained by the omission or neglect of something which is authentically reported of Him, stands self-condemned. It is not the Gospel view.[1]

Two facts come out clearly in the Synoptic narrative.

Our Lord's knowledge is infallible, unerring. But it is limited. There is no contradiction in these two statements. To be infallible and

[1] 'We shall bow in awful reverence before the deep things of God, but we shall, none the less, in this as in other departments of inquiry, seek to go as far as we can, and at least to be true to all the facts which are, and can be brought to be, at our disposal.' Gore, *Dissertations*, p. 73.

incapable of error is not the same thing as to be omniscient.[1] If our Lord were not sure and unerring, He could not be to us the revelation of the Father, He could be no Guide and Illuminator to the wandering soul of man, no mediating bridge between Heaven and earth. We should still be waiting for One Who should speak the last, decisive word on human life and destiny.

But a knowledge which requires no correction within its own province, which is perfect so far as it goes, is not necessarily encyclopaedic. Perfection is complete adaptation to function and requirement. Knowledge is none the less perfect if, beyond its proper scope, there are phenomena of which it does not need to take account.

The most remarkable of the Synoptic references to our Lord's knowledge is that of St. Matt. xi. 27 and its parallel, St. Luke x. 22.[2] Here we have

[1] Cf. Lemme, *Jesu Wissen und Weisheit*, p. 10. 'There is no more wrong-headed representation than that which regards a complete universality in His knowledge as belonging to the absolute authority of Jesus in matters of truth. The opposite is the case.'

[2] *v. suprà*, p. 56. According to v. Soden, the passage forms part of the Logia (Q). *v.* Plummer, *ad loc.* (Lu.). 'It is impossible upon any principles of criticism to question its genuineness or its right to be regarded as among

two pairs of Entities; in each pair one being set over against the other in the form of an equation, in an unique sense to be shared by none:—The Father, the Son—the knowledge of the Father, the knowledge of the Son. These mutual relations are partly conditioned, as to the first pair, by the fact which introduces them, 'All things are delivered unto Me of My Father': as to the second pair—the mutual knowledge—wholly by that fact.[1] 'The Son' presupposes 'the Father.' The knowledge of the Son is imparted by the Father. The Fountain of Being and the Fountain of Knowledge are the same. It stands to reason that, if the mutual knowledge of one another by the Father and the Son is thus regarded by our Lord as something equivalent, that of the Son is within its own sphere, as conditioned by Sonship, as perfect and complete as the knowledge of the Father. 'As conditioned by Sonship,' because

the earliest materials made use of by the Evangelists. *v.* Sanday, *Criticism of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 223; and cf. *infra*, p. 256 ff. Gardner observes: 'The remarkable verse, Matt. xi. 27, stands quite isolated.' *Exploratio Evangelica*, p. 386, note. But isolation is here a question-begging epithet and does not necessarily point to unauthenticity.

[1] Cf. Jo. xii. 49, xvii. 8, 14, xiii. 3.

the nature of what is 'delivered' unto the Son is determined by the context. As Dalman says,[1] 'we are concerned here with the body of the Revelation of Jesus which imparts the complete knowledge of God.' The Son, from His full and perfect knowledge of the Father, is 'the perfectly trustworthy Revealer of the whole wealth of Divine Mysteries.'[2] This degree of Christ's knowledge is nothing less than divine;[3] and the fact that He

[1] *Die Worte Jesu*, p. 232.

[2] Id. *ib.* 'der absolut zuverlässige Offenbarer des ganzen Reichthums göttlicher Geheimnisse.' Cf. O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu*, p. 221. We can estimate from these words the exceeding height of His Self-consciousness. Jesus knows that He alone knows God.

[3] Much has been made by Harnack (*Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 1907, ii p. 196 ff.), of the reading ἔγνω, aorist for γινώσκει, present. It is characterised by Irenaeus (*Adv. Haeres.* iv. 6. 1) as an heretical falsification of the text. But however that may be, the change from present to aorist becomes indifferent, when it is realised that in the unvocalised Aramaic the two tenses would be expressed by the same word. *v.* Dalman, *D. Worte Jesu*, p. 233. Cf. Barth, *Die Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesu*, p. 251. 'Both texts go back with respect to the verb (ἐπιγινώσκει, ἔγνω, οἶδε) to one and the same Aramaic word, which Jesus employed.' The contention of Schmiedel (who admits that the passage is an original saying of Christ), that the aorist denotes that there was a time when the Son did not know the Father, and that His pre-existence with the Father is consequently

is not the original source of it, but that it is 'delivered' to Him 'of the Father,' in no way takes from its divineness.

denied, falls to the ground. *Prot. Monatshefte*, 1900. But, as Allen points out in Matt xi. 27, the aorists in xi. 25-27 ἔκρυψας, ἀπεκάλυψας, παρεδόθη refer to pre-temporal acts of God wrought in the pre-historic 'beginning' or 'eternity.' If ἔγνω is the true reading its explanation is similar. The aorist is used as elsewhere to denote timeless action. Cf. εὐδόκησα, iii. 17, ἐδόθη, xxviii. 18, εὐδόκησα, Mk. i. 11 (*v.* Swete's note). 'La parole évangelique a donc une tout autre portée qu'il ne faudrait pour la thèse de la filiation acquise à Jésus, dans le temps, par la connaissance du Père.' Loisy, *L'Évangile et l'Église*, p. 79. Harnack (*op. cit.* p. 210) considers that as the text stands in our copies, 'a formal equality of Father and Son . . . and a relation of Father and Son, which has never begun but remains ever the same, is expressed. . . . If Matthew has written thus his Christology very nearly approached that of John in a point of the greatest importance.' The weight of this admission is not lessened by the fact that Harnack considers that 'Q' originally read ἔγνω (*v.* above), and it is only slightly affected by his supposition that the phrase, 'No one knoweth the Son, but the Father,' was a later insertion of the Evangelist. Nor is the received reading discredited by Harnack's statement that it is 'johanneisch und unhaltbar.' (*Ib.* p. 210). As Wendt remarks (*Die Lehre Jesu*, E.T. ii. p. 126), 'This full, unique, mutual knowledge on the part of the Father and the Son is not fortuitous, but stands in necessary connection with their Fatherhood and Sonship.' It will be noticed that this relationship of

If this passage is the classical Synoptic statement on the nature of our Lord's knowledge, it must be remembered that it does not stand alone,

Father and Son remains as part of 'Q' as amended by Harnack (*op. cit.* p. 94). Cf. Zahn, *Das Evangelium Matt.*, *ad loc.* 'The Son is not only the medium of revelation, Who imparts the knowledge of God to him who is capable of receiving it, but He is Himself, in the first instance, a mystery fast locked to man, which itself needs disclosing.' The discussion of the passage in Schmidt's *The Prophet of Nazareth* is as usual coloured by his own presuppositions. Granted that it is unique in the Synoptic narrative (but cf. 'The Son,' 'The Father,' Mk. xiii. 32); that fact would not discredit it. The same kind of argument appears in his article 'Son of God' in *Encycl. Bibl.* iv. and is equally unconvincing. It is vitiated by the same prejudices. Such criticism, however disturbing at the moment, can never have lasting effect.

Kühl, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, p. 11, observes that in the Third Gospel the occasions on which the separate sayings of 'Q' were spoken are more accurately preserved, while the first Evangelist is almost always more trustworthy in reporting the language itself. So here, 'the words of the First Gospel are introduced independently of any definite historical occasion. . . . But the first sentence betrays the fact that the confession of Jesus is due to a particular situation. An evident result of the activity of Jesus is presupposed. Accordingly it will be an historical recollection tallying with that result, which the third Evangelist has preserved, when he lets the words of Jesus be spoken under the impression of the tidings which the disciples were able to give of their richly blessed

or without connection with other New Testament writings.

It gives a background of historical probability to many of those profound utterances which the Fourth Gospel places in the mouth of Christ.[1] It

mission work, performed by commission from Jesus.' *Ib.* p. 19.

In view of the opinion of Zahn and Schmiedel that the passage contains an actual saying of Christ, the words of Pfleiderer will not carry much weight :—'The reference of this dogmatic idea of an unique metaphysical relation of the Son to the Father, to the self-consciousness of the historical Jesus, by which a new Platonic-Augustinian Mysticism is ascribed to this Hero of reform, is historically unthinkable.' *Die Entstehung des Christentums*, p. 202.

[1] Cf. John xvi. 15, xvii. 25. *v.* especially vii. 29, viii. 55, of His knowledge of the Father, (οἶδα) and x. 15 (γινώσκω). Kühl of Königsberg in the most recent discussion of this passage takes a similar view, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, 1907, p. 26 :—'The agreement of our passage with the mode of speech of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel is, in truth, embarassing for those who have given up this Gospel as an historical source . . . But if it has without doubt been an element of the Logia source in the form which lay before Matthew and Luke, which has remained untouched by Johannine and Pauline influences and by influences of the later dogmatism of the Church, and on that account no one could seriously think of disputing its originality ; so must the upholders of the trustworthiness of the Fourth Gospel attach weight to the fact, indisputable as it is in view of this passage, that the

goes far to prove that, in this respect, the Johannine tradition rests on a basis of good evidence. It creates for it an atmosphere and conditions which make its statements thoroughly reasonable. If this deep and penetrating saying comes from the heart of contemporary testimony—as we have seen good reason to believe—it becomes in the highest degree probable that similar sayings, reported by St. John, represent actual Self-revelations of Christ. Accordingly we get a very strong presumption that a firm substratum of fact lies beneath the Johannine tradition, and makes it, to a larger extent than some critics would allow, trustworthy and available for use in the study of the Person of our Lord.

A further implication contained in this passage is, that all true knowledge of God is imparted to men by the Son.[1] And this in two ways. He is

Self-consciousness and discourse of the Synoptic Christ could reach so high a level.' Cf. *ib.* p. 37.

[1] *v.* Gore, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 117. Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, p. 232. 'His disciples do indeed acquire through Him the same knowledge of God which He possesses. But their knowledge remains indirect; His own is gained by direct contemplation.' Harnack, *Das Wesen des Christentums*, p. 81. 'Jesus is persuaded that He knows God as none before Him, and He knows that He has the call to impart

the direct representative of the Father. From His union with the Father He takes His place on earth in such sort that, in Him, God is manifested to man. And secondly, because in character, in word and act as observed by man, He reveals the character and the mind and action of God.

Here again we get a dogmatic basis for such expressions, put into the mouth of Christ by the fourth Evangelist, as 'He that seeth Me, seeth Him that sent Me'; 'He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father'; and for that profound saying of the Evangelist in reference to the Word, 'That was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.'[1] The truth underlying both the Logia and the Johannine statements is the same:—the knowledge of God can only come to man through the Person of the Son,

by word and deed to all others this knowledge of God and, with it, Sonship to God.' Bousset, *Gottesglaube*; 1908, p. 62. 'Among all those who, as Leaders endowed by God, have rent the heavens and called down the fire of Faith, there stands supreme above them all and plain to every eye, the Form of Jesus of Nazareth. All our experience of faith in God stands in every point in the closest connection with His personal Life and is inseparable from Him.'

[1] Jo. xii. 45, xiv. 9, i. 9.

and can only find expression understandable by man through the man Christ Jesus.[1]

If the Father is the supreme object of the knowledge of our Lord, if the mind and will and character of God are open to Him, and can be imparted by Him to man, according as he is able to receive such knowledge—we also learn from the Synoptic Gospels as well as from St. John, that His own life and destiny, as the Son of Man, lies open before Him in perfect clearness. Again and again we find indications of His possession of this more than prophetic illumination. He realised His Mission, and from the beginning of His Ministry, He could see the end. According to St. John,[2] at His first Passover, He gives a hint of His Death and Resurrection. Later on He speaks

[1] 'In this His consciousness as Bringer and Lord of the Kingdom of God, He knows that He is one with the Father, and is the instrument of God, moved only by the Divine Will. A sight of God is vouchsafed to Him, which is far removed from the common understanding of man. He dwells in the enjoyment of a purity and sublimity of religious atmosphere, in which no breath of man has yet been discovered. . . . The passage brings the conception of an exclusive Bearer of revelation and of a final Founder of religion to classical expression.' H. J. Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch der neutest. Theologie*, i. p. 275.

[2] ii. 19; cf. Mk. ii. 20.

in plain terms of His betrayal, passion and death.[1] From the standpoint of full knowledge, the way of the Cross stretches out before Him. It forms the background of His thought, and at times He lets fall intimations which betray its presence. If not before, at least from the Temptation onwards, the destiny to which He was moving must have formed part of His consciousness. Only at a certain point in His Ministry does He speak of it to His disciples in definite terms.[2] Christ's knowledge of Himself and of the successive stages of His earthly career is no transient gleam such as that which enables a prophet to anticipate the future; which comes and goes again, leaving the mind of the seer like that of other men. It is an abiding consciousness, which does not leave Him. We see cause for believing that His knowledge was progressive: it was due in part to experience, and it seems to have become more minute and comprehensive as the time of accomplishment drew near. But what it is important to observe is the fact that open-eyed and conscious of what lay before Him, the Saviour went through the time of His Ministry. He had come to do His Father's

[1] Mark viii. 31 and parallels. Cf. Lu. xii. 50.

[2] Cf. p. 131.

will. He had made that will His own, not only by a primal choice, but by subsequent deliberate rejection of wrong method, when He was tempted, and by tenacious cleaving to the right way.

And there is a deeper and more mysterious department of His Self-knowledge. He knew Himself as He knew the Father.[1] He had sounded the depths of His own Personality and was conscious of His own Eternal relations with the Father. Whether this knowledge was awakened within Him by reflection on the character of His public Ministry, or whether it dawned upon Him in early youth as He thought —like other instructed Jewish boys—of God, His Father, we cannot tell. The incident of the Temple visit points to the latter probability.[2] How the impression became fixed and deepened, during the remaining years of preparation for His Ministry, we are not told. But at His Baptism it is confirmed, according to the Gospel narratives, by the Testimony of the Father, and henceforth

[1] Cf. Rev. xix. 12, *ἔχων ὄνομα γεγραμμένον ὃ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν εἰ μὴ αὐτός*, and Swete's note.

[2] Lu. ii. 41 ff. However we interpret *ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Πατρός μου* we cannot fail to see that a special tie, an unique relation between God and Himself, is implied.

must be reckoned as an abiding fact of His consciousness. It comes into view fitfully and at times can only be inferred. Here and there in the Synoptics, it is required to account for language which would otherwise be unreasonable. The repeated 'but I say unto you' of the Sermon on the Mount; the charge to evil spirits to be silent; the claim to be greater than the Temple and more than Solomon;[1] the great passage so often referred to, St. Matthew, xi. 27: in all these instances the implication, more or less clearly expressed, that He Who so speaks is more than man, cannot be avoided. When we turn to the Fourth Gospel, the evidence of our Lord's consciousness of His eternal relation to the Father and of the transcendence of His own Personality is abundant. Let one instance suffice—'I and my Father are One.'[2] Therefore among the elements of His Self-knowledge, we must reckon the consciousness that whatever the circumstances of His mortal life, He was still the Eternal

[1] Matt. xii. 6, 41, 42. *v.* Mason, *Conditions of our Lord's Life on Earth*, p. 174, who draws attention to the neuter πλεῖον in vv. 41, 42. 'There is a difference in their very essence.'

[2] Jo. x. 30. Cf. v. 18, xiv. 9, v. 22.

Son of the Father, one with Him in unbroken union.

Christ's knowledge of men was in keeping with His knowledge of Himself. We have many instances of it. In some cases, it does not appear to differ from the gift of insight into character or disposition, which others are recorded to have possessed. There is nothing transcendental in His greeting to Peter and in the instantaneous summing up of his character.[1] The ordinary experience of life will suffice to impart to some minds an extraordinary capacity for the quick reading of character, and many such rapid judgments have been justified by time. But experience and prophetic insight fail to account for such acts of discernment as those of which the names of Nathanael, Zacchaeus, Judas, remind us.[2] 'He knew what was in man.' Like His word, His mind's eye was 'quick and powerful . . . piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit and of the joints

[1] Jo. i. 42.

[2] Jo. i. 47, 48; Lu. xix. 5-11; Jo. vi. 64, 71. 'All the Evangelists agree in representing the Lord as moving among men with a complete and certain knowledge of their characters and needs.' Westcott, *St. John*, ii. 24 (additional note).

and marrow and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart.'[1]

Under these three heads—His Father, Himself, Man—are comprised those departments of our Lord's knowledge which it most concerns us to consider; and in all these points His knowledge was, for its purpose, adequate and complete. What He taught of God—His own personal manifestation of God—admitted of no correction. It was perfect, so that He could say, 'No one knoweth the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him.' 'He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father.' What He taught about Himself was equally complete. He was sure of Himself, His office, His destiny. There is no sign of ecstasy leading to exaggeration, neither is there trace of hesitation. Everything moves on to its appointed end calmly and majestically. He had set Himself to do His Father's will and He knew what that would involve. What He knew of man was, for the work He had come to do, equally sufficing. It was knowledge of the spiritual and moral elements of human nature. It had to do with man as the subject of redemption. Christ knew man, as no

[1] Hebr. iv. 12.

one but God knows him; for, as in a book, He could read the heart and could detect motives, where man can only note actions. Such knowledge was necessary to the Saviour. He must be able to diagnose the disease He would cure and to probe to the depths every wound which He meant to heal. Thus the knowledge of our Lord was sufficient for His purpose and, in its sphere, it was complete and perfect. It was part of His prerogative as the Son of God and it was unaffected by the Incarnation. It was His still, in the days of His flesh. The object of His Self-humiliation did not require Him to abandon it. Rather it required its retention. He Who would lead man back to God must know unfailingly each party to the great transaction.

Along with this exalted conception of the knowledge and authority of Christ, we meet with what seems at first to strike a jarring note. The knowledge of 'the Son' in the days of His flesh, however perfect and unerring within its own proper range and scope—the revelation of God—had its limitations. This fact comes out in the Gospel narrative as clearly as that of the knowledge itself. To what are we to attribute it? At first sight it seems to present a contradiction; and

there is no doubt that the question has been so handled as to confuse and blur the image of the Saviour as He stands before us. There are two phenomena which we can place side by side, which we cannot wholly reconcile, yet which we dare not try to explain away—a perfect knowledge, divine in its grasp and thoroughness, and an ignorance such as is common to man. In other words, our Lord's knowledge was limited. Of this fact we have the following evidence, supplied in part by the Evangelists, in part by Himself. His knowledge was, in certain departments, acquired; which means that it was not at one time what it afterwards became. St. Luke expressly and repeatedly mentions this in his Gospel of the Childhood; 'Jesus increased in wisdom and in stature.'[1] Therefore, at one period of His life our Lord's knowledge was inferior to

[1] Lu. ii. 40, 52. Cf. St. Thom. Aquinas, *Summa Theol.* iii. Quæst. xii. Art. ii. 2. 'Proficere est imperfecti, quia perfectum additionem non recipit.' 'Wisdom' is the capacity of rightly using knowledge, but in St. Luke ii. it no doubt includes knowledge itself as well as the handling of it. Cf. Mason, *Conditions of our Lord's Life on Earth*, p. 127. 'However much we may admit the ethical aspect of that "wisdom" in which Jesus advanced, it cannot at any rate altogether exclude the element of knowledge in one important direction.'

what it was at a later period. To that extent He was at one time ignorant. We trace the same fact in what the Evangelists say of the effect of certain experiences upon His mind. Surprise and indignation show that He was not prepared for men's conduct by previous knowledge.[1] He acts on information supplied by others, and therefore presumably unknown to Him before.[2] As Westcott shows ; in some instances His knowledge is of

[1] Lu. vii. 9. 'When Jesus heard these things, He marvelled at him.' Cf. Plummer, *ad loc.* 'Those who are unwilling to admit any limitations in Christ's knowledge, have to explain how wonder is compatible with omniscience.' Mark vi. 6. 'He marvelled because of their unbelief.' iii. 5. 'When He had looked round about on them with anger, being grieved for the hardness of their hearts.'

[2] Matt. xiv. 13. 'When Jesus heard of it (the death of John the Baptist) He departed thence by ship into a desert place apart.' John ix. 35. 'Jesus heard that they had cast him out (the man born blind whom He had healed): and when He had found him . . .' (apparently after searching for him). John xi. 3, 4, 6. 'Therefore his (Lazarus') sisters sent unto Him saying, Lord, behold, he whom Thou lovest is sick. When Jesus heard that, He said . . . When He had heard therefore that he was sick, He abode two days still in the same place where He was.' 'He was aware of a thing at one instant, of which He was not aware the instant before.' Mason, *op. cit.* p. 133.

the acquired kind (γινώσκειν), as distinguished from that which is absolute (εἰδέναι).[1]

Again, our Lord asked many questions during His Ministry. In the greater number of instances, His object was clearly to direct the attention of the questioned to what He Himself had in mind to do or to say. But there remain one or two cases in which we seem obliged to conclude that His question was intended to supply some deficiency in His own information. St. Athanasius is probably right when he cites St. John xi. 34, 'Where have ye laid him?' as such an instance.[2] 'How many loaves have ye?' may

[1] Matt. xii. 15. 'When Jesus knew it (γνούς, "came to know") He withdrew.' Jo. iv. 1. 'When therefore the Lord knew how the Pharisees had heard that Jesus made and baptized more disciples than John (ἔγνω, "came to know").' Jo. vi. 15. 'When Jesus therefore perceived (γνούς) that they would come and take Him by force, to make Him a King.' Jo. v. 6. 'When Jesus saw him lie and knew (γνούς) that he had been now a long time in that case.' *v.* Westcott, *St. John*, ii. 24 (additional note). Fairbairn, *Studies in the Life of Christ*, p. 48. 'His manhood can be real only as it remains a manhood realized within the limits necessary to man.'

[2] *Contra Arian. Or.* iii. 456. Westcott remarks in *St. John ad loc.* 'The question is remarkable as being the single place in this Gospel where the Lord speaks as seeking information. Yet see v. 17 (*found*).' *v.* Mason, *op cit.* p. 143.

well have been a request for information. Still more clearly the question, 'Who touched my clothes?' implies not the desire to call attention to what occurred, but a definite wish for knowledge which He did not possess. 'He kept looking round about (περιεβλέπετο) to see her that had done this thing.'[1] In the case of the barren fig tree, it is probable that until our Lord went up to it, He was quite unaware that under the abundant leafage there was no fruit. He gave the impression to His disciples that He was looking for figs. He would not have done so if He had known that the tree was fruitless.

In all these cases, the natural and straightforward interpretation of the circumstances is, that our Lord desired information on the several points because He needed it. That is what the Gospel narratives convey. It was the impression which their writers received.[2]

[1] Mk. vi. 38, v. 30, 32. *v.* Mason, *op. cit.* p. 150. Bp. d'Arcy of Clogher in *Dict. of Christ*, i. p. 365. 'There is no trace in the Gospels of His possessing supernatural knowledge of human and secular things beyond what was necessary for His work.'

[2] 'If Christ in His historical life be conceived as a conscious God Who lives and speaks like a limited man, then the worst of all forms of docetism is affirmed. For it

Then there is our Lord's own statement of a limitation of His knowledge: 'But of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.'[1] Here our Lord states that, on a

is one that dissolves Him into infinite unreality. If He knows as God while He speaks as man, then His speech is not true to His knowledge, and within Him a bewildering struggle must ever proceed to speak as He seems, and not as He is.' Fairbairn, *Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 353.

[1] Mk. xiii. 32. In the parallel passage, Matt. xxiv. 36, οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός is probably, as in A.V., to be omitted with the Sinaitic MS. As Allen shows (*ad. loc.* and Introduction, p. xxxi), such omission is in accordance with St. Matthew's practice relative to Christ. The passage as it stands in St. Mark is one of the foundation statements, on which Schmiedel would base our knowledge of Christ. N. Schmidt, on the other hand, considers that in St. Mark, as well as in St. Matthew, οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός is a late addition. Thus these critics deal with this passage in an opposite way, but with the same intention. Schmiedel accepts the reading as against our Lord's Divinity. Schmidt rejects it, as embodying the expression 'the Son' used of Christ in an absolute sense and therefore conveying the idea of His Divinity. *The Prophet of Nazareth*, p. 147. That, at least, is what his criticism implies. Anything that conflicts with his own views can be pronounced 'a late addition'—an easy method of disposing of awkward evidence. When two negative critics disagree as to the reading of a passage in which they are interested from their own special standpoints, the ordinary student will consider himself justified

matter of first importance, the date of the Judgment at which He Himself will act as Judge, He Himself is in ignorance. 'The Son' is used in its absolute sense as in St. Matthew xi. 27, and is set over against 'the Father.' It would therefore be untrue to the meaning of the passage to say that our Lord is here speaking simply of His human consciousness—that as Man, He does not know that of which, as the Eternal Son, He is cognisant: for it is as 'the Son' that this particular piece of knowledge is withheld from Him. Like the disposal of the places in the future Kingdom, this is a matter which is the concern of the Father alone. 'It is not Mine to give.' There are limits to the power and knowledge of the Eternal Son. Certain things are in the Father's hand. Several passages in the Fourth Gospel point to the same principle of subordination of the Son in His eternal relations

in keeping to the evidence at his disposal, even if it should support the 'orthodox' position. It should be noticed that even if οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός were proved to be an addition to the Text of both Gospels, the passage would still convey the thought that the Son shared in the ignorance imputed to angels and men, for 'no one,' (not 'no man') οὐδεὶς οἶδεν . . . εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, includes the Speaker Himself. The Father only knows.

with the Father. The Father is the source of all knowledge and power. The Son receives from the Father what He possesses. 'I do nothing of Myself; but as My Father hath taught Me, I speak these things.'[1]

When we place these limitations of our Lord's knowledge, as they appear in the Gospel, side by side with what is told us of His knowledge of His Father, of Himself and of man, we find it impossible to frame a theory which shall do justice to all the facts.[2] On the one hand, there is Divine, transcendent knowledge, embracing the greatest mysteries of heaven and earth. On the other, there is ignorance of certain things, showing that His knowledge, in the days of His flesh, was capable of development and growth, and that it was dependent on such aids as we ourselves have to depend upon—the senses, inquiry from others,

[1] Jo. viii. 28. Cf. *ib. v.* 26. 'I speak to the world those things which I have heard of Him.' v. 19. 'The Son can do nothing of Himself but what He seeth the Father do.' v. 30. 'I can of Mine own Self do nothing: as I hear I judge.'

[2] 'I shrink from dealing with a question which I hold to be beyond the reach of human faculties, namely, to explain how the Finite and the Infinite could be combined in one Person.' Salmon, *The Human Element in the Gospels*, p. 476.

investigation. Had it not been so, the Incarnate Life of our Lord must have failed in its purpose. Without His perfect knowledge of Divine things, He could not have been to us the manifestation of God. Without the mental experience involved in those conditions of acquiring knowledge to which we have been referring, we should not have had among us One Who was in all points tried as we are. There would have been something wanting in the perfection of His humanity.[1] But it is for us to see that we keep clear and distinct in our minds each fact of His Personality. They come to us on the best evidence. How they can

[1] This consideration applies to the vexed question of our Lord's dealing with literary questions of the Old Testament, such as the authorship of Psalm cx. He spoke as a Man of His time and as one Who was acquainted with the literary judgments of His time. The perfection of His humanity required that He should belong to a certain period: He could not be Man in the abstract. In such matters would He not use the conventional language which would be understood by those to whom He spoke? On the other hand, we have Dr. Mason's wise words of caution: 'He may well have sometimes used names like Moses and David in conventional senses; but Moses and David were real persons to Him, whom He had not forgotten.' *Conditions of our Lord's Life on Earth*, p. 188. Cf. Denney in the *Dict. of Christ*, i. p. 148. Pfleiderer, *Die Entstehung des Christentums*, p. 78, 'He (Christ) has not only accommodated Himself to

co-exist in the same Person we cannot say. There are many seeming antinomies—each member of which is a certain fact of our experience—whose resolution lies beyond this stage of our career. So it may be with what is told us of the knowledge of our Lord.

this popular representation (*i.e.* of the devil and his host, the demons), as has often been remarked ; but He has shared it in all earnestness ; it belongs to those parts of His picture of the world in which He shows that He is a child of His time, but which for us could no longer influence thought.' Dr. Mason's words, quoted above, apply equally to this dogmatic statement of the Berlin Professor. Satan was to Christ a real person, *whom He had not forgotten.*

CHAPTER VIII

MIRACULOUS POWER

THERE has been a remarkable change in the attitude of serious thinkers towards the subject of miracles. In days not so far distant the miracle was regarded as the chief proof-material of the Christian Faith. It guaranteed the Divine Personality of Christ. It was quoted as a sign that the Worker Himself belonged to the 'supernatural' order, and that the external, visible result of His power was surety for the infallible truth of His revelation of God. In the present day, although miracles are still widely recognised as elements of the Life of Christ which have to be accounted for, and which go to form the picture which He presents to the thoughtful mind, yet they are regarded from quite a different point of view. Instead of arguing from the miracle to Christ, the habit is rather to argue from Christ to

the miracle. So far from the miracle possessing the power to commend a Divine Christ to us, we require Him to make the miracle itself credible. The process is reversed. And, on the whole, the modern standpoint is the one which is more true to the nature of the case. The Person of Christ is the Miracle of miracles. The works which He performs in the course of His Ministry are the natural result of the contact of such a Personality with the necessities of man. We do not require them as evidence of His Personality, although they do form part of any constructive representation of Him, which aims at completeness ; while, according to St. Matthew,[1] our Lord

[1] xi. 2-7 = Lu. vii. 18-24 from the Logia (Q). In the Fourth Gospel He again and again cites His 'works' as evidence of His Person and claims. Jo. v. 36, x. 25, xv. 24. It therefore seems an exaggeration to say (Fairbairn, *Studies in the Life of Christ*, p. 149): 'Miracles, once regarded as the great bulwark of the Christian faith, are now regarded as its greatest burden.' Cf. Beth, *Das Wunder*, 1908, p. 13. 'If Miracle was once an instrument of Apologetics, it has now become an object of apology.' Granted that we approach the subject from a different point of view and that, very rightly, the moral and spiritual character of the Worker Himself is more convincing than the works, yet is it not presumption to slight a kind of evidence to which Christ Himself assigned value? Is the 'modern' man at so much higher a level

makes special appeal to them as proofs of His being what He claimed to be. But if our attitude is changed, we should be clear as to the ground of

spiritually, and is his 'Weltanschauung' so philosophically superior, that the appeal of the Saviour to His works is no longer applicable? To the present writer it appears to be time to call a halt to the tone of thought and language prevalent is some quarters on this subject. One can understand that miracles are a stumbling-block and offence in any purely humanitarian view of our Lord: but the apologetic and deprecatory reference, which it is now the fashion to make to them in some Christian circles, is neither wise nor reverent. With regard to Gospel Miracles—with which alone we are dealing in this chapter—the evidence is at first-hand. Dr. Sanday (*The Life of Christ in Recent Research*, p. 221) seems somewhat to minimise its value. Yet, as he allows, the author of the Fourth Gospel was an eye-witness, and the process of long reflection and the lapse of time could neither have changed ordinary acts into miracles, nor suggested appeals to them as His witnesses, if such were never made by Christ. Besides the Johannine testimony, we have the report committed to writing by the eye-witness St. Matthew, in the Logia narrative of Mat. xi. 2-7 = Lu. vii. 18-24. This, apart from other evidence which could be cited, certainly seems to bring the testimony to the historic character of the Gospel miracles to about as near to being first-hand as it is possible to be. As B. Weiss says (*Leben Jesu*, i. p. 539) 'Mat. xi. 5 shows that the oldest source takes it for granted that awakenings from the dead actually occurred in the ministry of Jesus.'

Schweitzer is no doubt correct in saying that the attitude of Strauss towards miracles formed an epoch in the study of

the change. If it is a heightened appreciation of the Saviour's wonderful Person and character that puts His actual miracles into the background, and takes from their power to convince, the change is to be commended. If, on the other hand, it is due to the supposed requirements of scientific thought; if it is because we cannot assent to the occurrence of phenomena which refuse to be brought under the category of any known laws, or of the inferences deducible from such laws—then we refuse to accept facts, which come to us on excellent historical evidence, at the bidding of a

the Gospels. Negative writers have made no appreciable advance on his method of attack. But Schweitzer is entirely overestimating the results of the critical work of Strauss when he says (*Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, p. 109) that the problem of miracles is in consequence simply left on one side. It is quite untrue to fact to say that, since Strauss, 'das Wunder die historische Darstellung weder positiv noch negativ beschäftigt.' Instances to the contrary will at once occur to every reader.

St. John xx. 29 is sometimes quoted as conveying the idea that our Lord thought lightly of the convincing power of miracles; cf. 1 Pet. i. 8. But, as Fisher says, 'It is not on faith independent of miracles, but on faith independent of the ocular perception of miracles, that Jesus pronounces His blessing.' *Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief*, p. 258. It is a benediction on the readiness to believe on the testimony of others.

demand which has neither philosophy nor science to enforce it. We fail to account for a large department of phenomena, the evidence for which we are unable to set aside, and which have played a great part in the history of the world.

The belief that our Lord worked miracles forms an original part of the Gospel tradition. Statements to that effect are an integral portion of the Petrine Mark Gospel with its Synoptic parallels.[1] We may therefore take it as an admitted fact that the oldest Christian tradition represents Christ as a worker of miracles.[2]

But before we consider the value of the Gospel evidence, it must be observed that, if our Lord possessed this power, it is one which He shared with other men. Taken by itself it would not prove any special eminence. We

[1] *v.* p. 31. 'Our Gospel tradition has made Christ a miracle-worker in the extraordinary and absolute sense. Here He is the supernatural Son of God, Who without any psychological mediation directly lays hold of bodily life, Who wakes the dead, Who walks on the sea . . . for Whom there are no limits of possibility.' Bousset, *Jesus*, p. 26.

[2] It is unnecessary for our present purpose to cite other parts of the Synoptic Gospels or St. John to multiply the evidence. 'The Gospels contain a full measure of miracle-histories and mean to give accounts of miracles.' Traub, *Die Wunder im Neuen Testament*, 1905, p. 23.

must therefore examine the moral and spiritual conditions under which He is reported to have worked miracles.

First, then, as to the value of the Gospel tradition. Did our Lord work miracles? If the question can be met by the *à priori* statement that miracles are impossible, or by the simple assertion that—wholly apart from the question of their possibility—as a matter of fact, they do not happen—then our task would be easy. Whether or not we concern ourselves with the cause of the insertion of these narratives in the Gospel story, we could safely leave them on one side as mere accretions to the record of what actually occurred. Now, in reply to the position that a miracle is impossible, it will suffice to quote the saying of Huxley: "Denying the possibility of miracles seems to me quite as unjustifiable as speculative Atheism.'[1] But do they happen?

[1] *Spectator*, Feb. 10, 1866. In the present state of scientific thought a far more strongly worded answer could be given. Cf. Paulsen who, while not admitting the miraculous, remarks that 'should occasion demand, philosophy has a place for miracles.' *Einleitung in die Philosophie*, p. 297, E.T. *v. Dict. of Christ and the Gospels*, i. p. 727.

It will at once be seen that, granted their possibility, it is quite a different thing to establish the fact of their actual occurrence. The conviction that there is a settled order in God's world disposes one to question any presumed infringement of that order. It seems more consonant with the Divine Sovereignty of the universe that those laws of nature, which are the expression of God's will, should retain their action unmodified by any exceptional interposition. At first sight this appears the higher and more reverent view to take as we look out on the world. The evenness and fixity of the operations of nature, so far as our observation extends, form the foundation of our security in dealing with its phenomena; and this uniformity observable in the processes of nature, though incapable of proof by reason of the limitations of our knowledge, furnishes an hypothesis which is as necessary for all scientific research as for the ordinary purposes of life.

This fact, of itself, inclines many thoughtful people to be impatient of anything that lays claim to the miraculous. They relegate it to the infancy of human thought. They think that they honour God more by attributing to Him

an equal perfection in design and result, than by supposing that He should find it necessary to intervene at a subsequent stage, in order to set right what had gone wrong.[1]

Now this is not an unfair description of the attitude of many educated people towards the whole question of miracle. They are too sensible to deny its possibility; but, for the reasons stated, they do not admit that it happens. Several causes contribute to this mental attitude. Perhaps the chief of these is the confusion of idea which seems to be almost inherent in the expression 'law of nature.'[2] It is a convenient term

[1] Beth. *Das Wunder*, p. 13, alludes to this point of view: 'The absolute and harmoniously ruling God would not disturb His arrangement of the world by miracles, or correct His own handiwork, which would mean the admission of His own former incapacity.' He goes on to say, 'That such arguments are possible and are applied with apparent effect shows how mistaken was the view of miracles which once prevailed. . . . They do not even touch the question of miracles.'

[2] If by 'nature' is meant the totality of that which exists and of the forces which pervade it, then miracles are but instances of the regular operation of natural law. There is no supernatural element in them. Nature is an unity. But if, according to the usual meaning of the term, the physical world and its forces are alone described, then, if we believe in the existence of a spiritual Power,

to denote the result of our observation of the way in which phenomena act upon one another. It is a generalisation based on experience. It holds good up to the extent of that experience; *but not beyond it.* The neglect to take this plain fact into account lies at the root of the existing prejudice against the miraculous. Arguing from phenomena which have come under their own observation or under that of trustworthy reporters, people form the idea that the operations of nature are governed by law; and this mental process is justifiable. Law and order do pervade the universe.

But they forget that the field of their observation is not a wide one. It does not coincide with the whole range of the processes of nature, or of its possible operations. The accumulated experience of mankind would fail to cover it. There would still be phenomena which have not yet been brought under any known law. This is not saying that they cannot be so brought. Arguing, as we cannot help doing, from the known to the unknown, we conclude that processes of nature,

transcending and yet immanent in that world, its law and order may be modified as to their results, in the interest of a higher purpose.

which transcend or in some other way elude our power of observation, are equally subject to law. It would be irrational to imagine that so far as our experience goes, law reigns; but that beyond that limit, its rule ends.[1]

Now a 'miracle' is a phenomenon which cannot be classified under any generalisation known, or reasonably to be inferred, by us. If it take place, it lies outside our power of observing the method of its operation. But there is nothing to forbid our presumption that, equally with phenomena which we can assign to this or that natural law, it is in connection with order. To take an instance. The raising of Jairus' daughter was a phenomenon which we cannot classify under any series of antecedents and consequents at present known. But that does not mean that it stands outside the domain of law. There must have been some external 'cause' or antecedent followed necessarily by the only possible result. Such an antecedent was,

[1] Compare the wise remark of St. Augustine *De Civit. Dei*, xxi. 8, 'Omnia quippe portenta contra naturam dicimus esse : sed non sunt. Quomodo est enim contra naturam, quod Dei fit voluntate, cum voluntas tanti utique Conditoris conditae rei cujusque natura sit? Portentum ergo fit, non contra naturam, sed contra quam est nota natura.'

according to the Gospel narrative, the will of Christ. How it operated remains a mystery, and constitutes the miracle. We ourselves, in every part of our daily life, are constantly modifying and counteracting the result of natural laws by introducing into the sum of this or that process a fresh antecedent. Each law involved remains the same. It is the result which becomes modified, through the contribution effected by the new antecedent. When I raise my arm, there is no violation of the law of gravitation, but the coming into play of a new factor produces a modified result.[1] In the miracle cited, the laws of life and death were not changed. A fresh antecedent or series of antecedents was introduced, and this introduction naturally and orderly modified the effect of those laws, and the dead came to life again. Against such a position as a possibility science has nothing to say. It is a matter of evidence.

But our reception of that evidence will be for each of us a subjective matter—at any rate on its intellectual side. Belief in the

[1] P. Gardner, *Exploratio Evangelica*, p. 232, uses the expression for the working of miracle, 'the power of suspending natural law.'

occurrence of a miracle will be determined according to our estimate of the value of the direct evidence, and of the adequacy of the interests involved.

What is the value and force of the Gospel evidence? Attempts have frequently been made to preserve the ethical and spiritual element of the Gospel narratives, while excising the miraculous. But this cannot be done. Miracle is inextricably bound up with it. If you accept the accounts given of Christ's teaching and of the historical incidents of His life, you find that you cannot exclude the miraculous element. Its attestation is equally complete. It is interwoven with the whole fabric. The best certified facts of His life refuse to be explained, if you deny its presence.[1] Bousset admits[2] that 'in the extensive

[1] *v.* Illingworth, *Divine Immanence*, pp. 88-90. 'We cannot separate the wonderful life, or the wonderful teaching from the wonderful works." Cf. Sanday in Hastings, *D.B.* ii. p. 627. B. Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, i. p. 138. 'What the Gospels tell of miracles stands everywhere in the closest connection with the activity of the calling of Jesus.'

[2] *Jesus*, p. 26. Canney says (*Encycl. Bibl.* iv. p. 535), 'Writings in which miracles figure are not historical in the modern and scientific sense of the word;'—an instance of the confusion of thought so common in the treatment of this subject. A narrative which embodies the story of a miracle

accounts of miracles in our Gospels, there remains an eminently historical kernel.' Without them the course of events would remain inexplicable. 'Had there been no exertions of power

is not thereby rendered unhistorical. The supposed miraculous element is reported; and the fact that that element is considered by the reporter to be miraculous does not destroy his capacity for accurate and truthful narration of the facts which have come under his observation. His subjective interpretation of the phenomena which he reports is no bar to his faithful report of them. It is the province of the 'scientific' historical critic to endeavour to distinguish between the objective and the subjective, or interpretative, elements in a narrative. He forfeits his claim to be 'scientific' when he rejects a narrative *en bloc* on the plea that it contains the report of miracles. 'What occurred at Nain or Bethany eludes precise description as does death itself; but it is as little withdrawn from the province of history as the fact that death awaits ourselves.' Barth, *Die Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesu*, p. 137. Schweitzer points out that parts of St. Mark which v. Soden refers to a secondary source 'stand, in spite of their mythical coloring in close historical connection, so much so, that the historical connection is nowhere so strong as in those parts.' And he asks: 'How is one going to exclude the Feeding of the 5000 and the Transfiguration without destroying the historical web of the Mark-Gospel? . . . This scepticism is completely untenable, for in Mark the natural and the supernatural stand in equally good and sound historic connection.' *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, pp. 303, 304. 'It is impossible to separate miracles from the historical Christ: they are inextricably interwoven with the evangelical

to impress the senses, it is incredible that the Apostles should have believed in Christ and clung to Him in the teeth of all the influences fitted to inspire distrust.'[1]

No one will dispute the fact that the Gospel Miracles are reported in entirely good faith. The accounts bear upon their face the evidence that they represent the firm belief of the first disciples. Is it possible that they were deceived? The character of the narratives which have come down to us excludes such a supposition. The occurrences are too numerous and varied to allow of mistake; the issues involved, too definite and strongly contrasted with one another to be capable of any compromising explanation. In most of them the question of their occurrence or non-

history. The words of Jesus often imply works that were held to be miraculous: no theory that allows veracity to the first can deny reality to the second.' Fairbairn, *Studies in the Life of Christ*, p. 159.

[1] Fisher, *Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief*, p. 162. Cf. Christlieb, *Moderner Zweifel*, pp. 41, 45 (E. T.). Sanday in Hastings, *D.B.* ii. p. 627, and in *The Life of Christ in Recent Research*, p. 213: We may well doubt whether, without miracle, the belief would ever have grown up that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah, in view of the striking absence of those attributes and functions which the Jews expected in their Messiah.'

occurrence was perfectly easy to answer. There could be no middle position. If the process was inexplicable, the result was evident. 'Whereas I once was blind, now I see,' was an argument which could be applied by the witnesses as well as by the subjects of many of our Lord's miracles. This is especially true of the crowning Miracle of the Resurrection.

If the evidence for the Gospel miracles is trustworthy, if the accounts possess 'an eminently historical kernel,' we have next to inquire as to the adequacy of the purpose and interests involved in their working. If this be found sufficient, the evidence itself will be immensely strengthened. The miracles will come to us not only with testimony, but with probability, to favour them. According to the Gospel account, they are not bare, isolated exhibitions of power. They are signs. They attend and exemplify and enforce the carrying out of a great object—the restoration of man to that sonship of God for which he was created, but which sin had practically destroyed. If creation itself is a miracle; if man's attainment of self-consciousness is a miracle; his salvation may well have become the occasion of miracle. From the Christian standpoint, no purpose could

be greater, no occasion more momentous, than that implied in the Mission of the Son of Man. If ever there could be a call for the exercise of 'supernatural' power, for the introduction into human life and experience of new, creative forces, it was then;[1] when the Saviour stood for God and man against the enemy of both. And when we pass from the occasion as a whole to the circumstances of each separate miracle, we find them worthy of the Actor and of His object. What distinguishes the Gospel miracles from the Apocryphal and from others of dubious authenticity, is the spiritual atmosphere, the solemn setting, in which they are stated to have taken place. Every one of them is an acted parable of penetrating and illuminating meaning. If intended, as they doubtless were, to convince and prove, they appeal rather to the heart than to the intellect. They are never worked to satisfy curiosity, or to influence one whose will is set against the truth. When Renan says,[2] 'Un Miracle à Paris, devant des Savants compétents mettrait fin à tant de doutes,' he shows his want of appreciation of the whole attitude of our Lord towards those whom He came to save. He shows his ignorance of the

[1] Cf. Beth, *Das Wunder*, p. 33. [2] *Les Apôtres*, p. xliv.

human heart: he forgets the teaching of history.[1] 'La condition du Miracle est la crédulité du témoin,' says Renan again.[2] It would be more true to say that it is the enlightened understanding of the subject and his need, which makes a miracle possible.

Another characteristic of the Gospel miracles is the restraint, the reserve—one might say the economy—which our Lord practised in regard to them. 'They are studiously restricted to the purposes of His Mission.'[3] Often they are wrung from Him under pressure of sympathy with suffering. There is neither love of display nor selfishness of motive to be detected. 'He steadily refused to work miracles for any purely self-regarding end.'[4]

[1] Lu. xvi. 31. Cf. Beth, *op. cit.* p. 44. 'Miracles occurred not to awaken men's faith or to lead them for the first time to God . . . but to confirm a faith which was theirs already.' *v.* Traub, *Die Wunder im neuen Testament*, 1905, p. 71. 'Miracle is faith's favourite child. Therefore it is not the father of faith. Miracles do not beget faith.'

[2] *Ib.* p. xliv.

[3] *v.* Sanday in Hastings, *D.B.* ii. p. 626.

[4] *Ib.* Cf. Fairbairn, *Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 352. 'His supernatural powers are for others, not for Himself. He performs no single, self-regarding miracle. The priests

If it be argued that the power to work miracles would naturally be assigned to Christ by His followers, because belief in it was part of the intellectual outfit of the time; it may be replied that if, as time went on, they found that they were mistaken, and that no evidence of such power were forthcoming, their belief that He possessed it would never have crystallised into the conviction which, we know, did obtain. But more than this: if no miracles could be assigned to Him, if no act on His part had lifted the veil of the unseen world, it is certain that He Himself could never have won and held the place in their belief that He did. He would not have been regarded as

mocked Him because while He saved others, He did not save Himself (Matt. xxvii. 42); and we may add, He could not both save Himself and be Himself.' 'To the Evangelists, the most miraculous thing in Christ was His determination not to be miraculous, but to live our ordinary life amidst struggles and in the face of temptations that never ceased.' *Ib.* p. 354. 'The miraculous action of Christ is distinguished by what can only be called miraculous moderation. His abstention from the use of His power is even more remarkable than His exercise of it.' Id. *Studies in the Life of Christ*, p. 160. 'He was never untimely, extravagant, or ungracious in the exercise of His supernatural gifts. They were never used on His own behalf. He had power above nature but He lived under the laws and within the limits she sets for all her sons.' *Ib.* p. 161.

Divine, as we shall go on to prove that He was so regarded.[1]

Another method of meeting and disposing of the evidence for the miracles of Christ is to assign them to the mythopoeic faculty, which, it is asserted, was a characteristic of His own and of

[1] 'The theory of Strauss that the narratives of miracles are a mythology spun by the disciples out of their expectation (based on the predictions of the Old Testament and the example of the prophets), that the Messiah would be a Miracle-worker, is refuted by the answer that, if there were no actual miracles, the disciples themselves would not have believed in Him. Strauss can give no answer to this difficulty which does not refute his own hypothesis.' Fisher, *Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief*, p. 163. The same refutation is applicable to the theory of Cheyne (*Bible Problems*, p. 110 ff.) that the myths of Ishtar, Osiris, Isis, Adonis, etc., becoming current first among Jews and afterwards among Jewish Christians, formed the basis of the Gospel narratives of the Resurrection of our Lord. If the event itself had not taken place, there would have been no belief on the part of the disciples to account for their narratives. But all schools of criticism admit the existence of the Resurrection belief. The mythical explanation, therefore, falls to the ground. Cf. Salmon, *The Human Element in the Gospels*, p. 323. 'Strauss's own hypothesis has certainly now outlived its day of popularity ; and more recent critics have not had more success, who have hoped to reach the same results by different roads . . . These attempts . . . provoke the remark how much ingenuity can be combined with a wonderful lack of common sense.'

the preceding ages. Two considerations are fatal to this view. One is the fact that the first century of the Christian era was a period, in which critical insight and learning played a far greater part in thought than is commonly supposed.[1] The New Testament writers themselves frequently show traces of this temper. It was an age of great historians.[2] The intellectual atmosphere of the time was unfavourable to the origin and propagation of myth. Then, when we turn to the miraculous narratives themselves, the phenomena which they exhibit give no support to the theory of a mythopoeic source. The mode of insertion of the narratives of miracles in the text of the Gospels is eminently natural. The miracles are there, not for their own sake, but as part of the story which would be incomplete without them.[3] There is entire absence of anything which looks like inven-

[1] 'It is an age of great intellectual activity and even of scepticism (cf. Pilate).' Christlieb, *Moderner Zweifel am Christlichen Glauben*, p. 403, E.T.

[2] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who died B.C. 7, Pausanias (the Geographer), Livy, the elder Pliny, Tacitus, Suetonius.

[3] 'In our Gospels the most disputed narratives are bound up with definite localities . . . they figure on the ground of recognised historical relations.' Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, i. p. 153.

tion : nor is there to be found the slightest indication of a desire to dramatise incidents, or to invest them with a poetic character. Considering the tendency, natural to the Eastern mind, to richness of diction, the miraculous narratives of the Gospels appear bare and literal to a degree. There is no sign of any attempt to construct a myth. When we find something which, on account of its miraculous element, might be objected to as 'mythical,' it always appears to be based on the conviction that the description is accurate, and we feel that the miraculous element is needed to account for the plain facts which are included in the record of the result. In other words, the natural and the 'supernatural' elements of the story are complementary. Together they form a connected whole.

To some minds, the apparent resemblance between the Gospel miracles and certain incidents of legendary history constitutes a difficulty. But the mere fact of the resemblance is no indication that the former are on the same historic plane as the latter. It may be accounted for in several ways. A truth of the spiritual world, such as those which underlie so many of the Gospel miracles, has a certain character of universality. It is to

be met with in other connections and under totally different circumstances. Nor does the presence of myth in one set of incidents prove the existence of the same in another set, which bears some resemblance to the first. The Gospel miracles are not thus to be discredited. But there is one consideration, which is quite fatal to a comparison between the miracles of the Gospel and those with which the legendary history of many peoples abounds. The mythical elements in the stories of heroes and other legendary personages have grown up round their forms in the process of time. Whereas, the Gospel conception of our Lord's Person and His acts was formed by contemporaries and those who had conversed with them. It is certain that an exalted estimate of Him obtained within a year of His earthly life. It has been worked out in detail subsequently and has been made the basis of dogma. It has not been added to.[1]

[1] To get time for the growth of myth as an explanation of the Gospel history, Strauss and the Tübingen School each transferred the composition of our Gospels to a period far within the second century. But the facts do not permit this proceeding. The early (more or less coinciding with the traditional) dates of the composition of the Gospels are now fully admitted by the most competent critics. That

It has been alleged that the need of the fulfilment of Messianic expectations has given rise to narratives containing supernatural elements; that the demand for a miracle-working Messiah created the Gospel story with its miracles. But as Weiss has shown,[1] no such detailed conception of the Messiah as this theory presupposes had any existence in the times immediately preceding our Lord's appearance upon earth. Not only so, but the disciples, following His own example, had to part with many of the features which went to form the popular conception of the Messiah. If we look closely at the Gospel narratives, we shall find no sign of the working of any miracle on behalf of Messianic fulfilment.[2]

Strauss[3] has endeavoured to find an explanation for the insertion of miracles into the Gospel, in

fact effectually bars the way to the mythical interpretation of their contents. *v.* Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, i. pp. 154, 5.

[1] *Op. cit.* i. p. 147.

[2] 'The expression 'that the prophecy might be fulfilled,' when used in conjunction with, or in reference to, the recital of a miracle, in no way invalidates the evidence for it. As Gardner remarks (*Exploratio Evangelica*, p. 155), 'It would be absurd to assume that a recorded event of Gospel history did not take place merely because it conformed to prophecy.'

[3] *Leben Jesu*, 1840, ii. pp. 423, 439 etc., E.T.

the transfer of incidents from the lives of Old Testament men of God to the history of Jesus. But it has been pointed out[1] that, although the sacred narratives of the Old Testament would naturally hover before the minds of the Evangelists, when they began to fix in writing the Gospel narrative, yet there is no sign of any imitation or copying. Strauss can only get instances to illustrate his theory by combining incidents arbitrarily collected out of different Old Testament narratives.

Now, it is evident that the occurrence of a miracle wrought by our Lord can no more be demonstrated than that of any other event in the distant past. It cannot compel assent from a mind which sees, in the orderly and accustomed sequences of nature, a more sure evidence

[1] *v.* Weiss, *op. cit.* i. p. 148. P. Gardner (*Exploratio Evangelica*, p. 230) after quoting 2 Kings iv. 42 ff. remarks: 'This narrative was familiar to those who wrote the Gospels, and it would make them ready to receive any report of similar miracles as wrought by Jesus.' To imagine that the full and circumstantial evidence of the Feeding of the 5000, reported by all four Evangelists, closely connected as it is with historic incidents of the deepest moment in Christ's life (*v.* Jo. vi. 15), can be set aside by quoting a supposed parallel from the history of Elisha, is to take a very light view of the task set before historical criticism. Few will agree with Gardner in thinking that 'the position has been turned' by such a device.

of the power and love of God than in any single, isolated acts of a 'supernatural' character. Nor can it gain credence from one whose position obliges him to refuse belief to a miracle, on the ground that no amount of human testimony can be alleged, which is sufficient to prove the occurrence of so exceptional and unique a phenomenon; one which, moreover, seems to destroy our confidence in the steady, undeviating operation of natural laws, and would therefore be detrimental, rather than advantageous, to the true interests of humanity in the long run. Let it be freely admitted that miracles are signs to those who believe, not to those who come to their consideration under the influence of adverse presuppositions. We have our Lord's own authority to make such an admission.[1]

But the maintenance of such an attitude cannot be considered satisfactory, whether intellectually or spiritually. Miracles come to us

[1] Lu. xvi. 31. Cf. K. Müller, *Unser Herr*, 1906, p. 13. 'Jesus has performed miracles not to awaken, but to strengthen faith (Mk. vi. 5, viii. 11 ff.): they serve to prove that faith in the living God and in the Lord Whom He has appointed is not mere fancy, but reality: but faith in itself has deeper roots.'

in the Gospel narrative on evidence which, on the admission of such a critic as Bousset,[1] cannot be set aside: and it is allowed that the question is one of evidence. The challenge cannot be evaded by taking refuge in a presupposition, which has neither science nor philosophy to recommend it.[2] From a spiritual point of view, such an attitude is equally unsatisfactory. To refuse assent to the Gospel narrative when it reports the miraculous, while accepting the account of His teaching, is to receive a Christ mutilated in life and character, bereft of one all important means of revealing the Divine Love, and of emphasizing and proving the authority of His teaching. The word and the work went together. They are interwoven in all the most certain records of Christ that have come down to us. We cannot dispense with the one and keep the other. 'To separate between the natural and supernatural in Mark is purely arbitrary, for the supernatural is part of his history.'[3] If the preaching of the Gospel

[1] *v. suprà*, p. 196. [2] *v.* above, p. 190.

[3] 'Eine Scheidung zwischen Natürlichem und Übernatürlichem bei Markus ist Willkür, weil das Übernatürliche bei ihm zur Geschichte gehört.' A. Schweitzer, *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, p. 305.

to the poor was, on our Lord's own showing, one of the convincing proofs of His Messiahship, so was His raising of the dead.[1] A vain enthusiast, who should boast of powers he never possessed, would have no Gospel for the poor, no message from God to man. A Christ stripped of His power to heal, restore and bless is not the Christ of the Gospels. His form is but a shadowy abstraction, unknown to history and to Christian experience. 'Jesus has worked enough and to spare of miracles which no criticism can touch, but the greatest of all miracles is Himself.'[2]

[1] Matt. xi. 5; Lu. vii. 22.

[2] Barth, *Die Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesu*, p. 142, 'Jesus hat genug der Wunder getan, an welche keine Kritik hinanreicht, und das grösste aller Wunder ist er selber.' Compare A. Meyer, *Die Auferstehung*, 1905, p. 3: 'Zwar widerspricht eine Auferstehung aller übrigen Erfahrung: aber es könnte doch bei einer ausser-ordentlichen Persönlichkeit einmal etwas ausser-ordentliches geschehen sein.' 'No doubt a resurrection contradicts all experience: but in the case of an extraordinary Personality, something extraordinary may happen.'

CHAPTER IX

THE WITNESS OF THE SACRAMENTS

AMONG the certainties[1] of the Gospel tradition is the fact that, on the eve of His death, Christ instituted the Sacrament of His Body and Blood. Our authority for its continuance, as a standing rite of the Church, is partly derived from St. Paul.[2] A portion of the Western text of St. Luke xxii. omits vv. 19[b], 20. If they were not in the original text yet, as Dr. Sanday has pointed out, the words were certainly inserted at a very early date, and therefore bear witness to the practice of the primitive Church.[3] Besides,

[1] *v.* Beyschlag in Knowling, *Witness of the Epistles*, p. 97.

[2] 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25. *v.* Hastings, *D.B.* ii. pp. 636, 638.

[3] If St. Paul is the only *original* authority for the command of continuance, we may be certain that he would not have 'delivered' it to the Christian Church (1 Cor. xi. 23) if he was not in harmony with the rest

in the Acts, we have the clearest evidence to the fact that 'the breaking of the bread' was the chief object of the meeting of the members of the Community on the Lord's Day.[1] But as regards the words and manner of the institution itself (apart from provision for its continuance) we have full Synoptic evidence, besides that of St. Paul. For our present purpose, we

of Apostolic teaching and practice upon this point. Justin Martyr distinctly says that 'the Apostles, in the memoirs produced by them which are called Gospels, related that Jesus gave them this command; that is to say, having taken bread and given thanks He said, "This do in remembrance of Me; this is My body,"' etc. (*Apol.* i. 66). Justin must have either read these words in St. Luke, or have had access to some other primitive source which referred the words to the Gospel narrative. *v.* Plummer in Hastings *D.B.* iii. p. 147.

[1] Acts xx. 7. Cf. ii. 42, the technical term for the Eucharist. *v.* Salmon, *The Human Element in the Gospels*, pp. 492 ff.: 'I must reject as unfounded the suspicions that have been raised as to the genuineness of the section from τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον (Lk. xxii. 19) to the end of verse 20. The MS. evidence for the words is overwhelming, the Eastern testimony for them being unanimous and the Western testimony being divided . . . It is no reason for suspecting these verses that they correspond closely with St. Paul's account of the institution of the Eucharist in 1st Corinthians. Why should they not correspond?'

need only ask what is their bearing upon our conception of the Person of Christ.

The main idea conveyed by the words and acts of the institution is that of union of the partaker with Christ. As nothing so clearly and vividly represents union as eating and drinking—because that which is eaten and drunk becomes, as sustenance, part of the body of the consumer—so this rite expresses and effects as nothing else can, real, corporate union between Christ and the Christian. But it should be noticed how the significance of the matter is heightened by its correspondence with the practices of other creeds. In all great ethnic religions, the partaking of the sacrifice offered to the god formed a chief part of the worship. The idea underlying this custom was that of securing unity with the deity. When then we find our Lord, on the eve of His atoning death, establishing a practice emblematic of the closest union between Himself and His disciples, we see in it the true realisation of an idea universal in the human mind—the need of man's union with his God. At least, we are strongly reminded of such a conception. What must be the Personality of One Who, at such a crisis in His

career, could act in a manner so suggestive of the deepest underlying idea of all religions? Would our Lord have so acted if there had not been in Him something more than humanity? The reverence with which the sacrament has been regarded, from New Testament times to the present day, is itself a strong indication of its sanctity and a tribute to the Person of its Founder.

The evidence afforded by the existence of the other great sacrament—that of Baptism—is equally significant. As regards its institution, our means of information are far less than in the case of the Holy Communion. The only Gospel account[1] is that of St. Matthew xxviii. 19, and that passage has been much disputed. It has been thought to contain too advanced and definite an expression of Trinitarian doctrine to be other than a late insertion.

Nor can we bring St. John iv. 1, 2 to support it as evidence for the existence of full Christian

[1] The appendix to St. Mark contains an allusion to the same incident (xvi. 15-17), ὁ πιστεύσας καὶ βαπτισθεὶς σωθήσεται. 'There is nothing here which is not consistent with St. Matthew's version of the story or with the general teaching of the New Testament.' Swete, *The Appearances of our Lord after the Passion*, p. 78.

Baptism, during our Lord's Ministry. At the time indicated, there was no such condition of things as would admit of Baptism in our Lord's Name. As practised with His approval, it was clearly similar to that of John the Baptist.[1] For, if the time had been ripe for Christian Baptism in the full sense, the preparatory rite of the Baptist—that of Repentance—would itself have ceased to be performed. It would have been recognised that the Kingdom had come, and that the time of preparation was over. But this was not the case;[2] and the fact that the baptism of John continued side by side with that of the disciples of Christ, shows that in substance the two rites were identical. But if

[1] 'If not identical with the baptism of John, it would be more akin to that than to Christian baptism. It was preparatory and not perfecting, symbolical and not sacramental.' (Plummer in Hastings *D.B.* i. p. 240.)

[2] St. Mark (i. 14, 15) tells us that the early preaching of Christ was of the same character and substance as that of the Baptist. It was the warning that the Kingdom of God was at hand, and it concluded with the same call to repentance. Until the kingdom was actually established, by the death and resurrection of the Lord and the consequent outpouring of the Holy Spirit, Christian Baptism—the rite of entry into it—would have been premature. Cf. Tertull. *de Bapt. cc.* x-xii.

the actual institution of Christian Baptism cannot be pointed to, or its exact date determined, on evidence as full and complete as that of the institution of the other sacrament, we are at once confronted by the fact of its actual existence and use, in the earliest period of the Church's life after Pentecost. It is Baptism into the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, but it is referred to as Baptism into the Name of the Lord Jesus.[1] If its use was thus early and general, as the slightest examination of the facts will show, it is certain that it must have come into being under the highest sanction. If St. Matthew xxviii. 19 is cast in a form which has no support from other sayings of our Lord in the Synoptic Gospels and, so far as its Trinitarian expression is concerned, suggests later theological interpretation of the mind of Christ,

[1] Acts ii. 38, x. 48, xix. 5. Cf. Rom. vi. 3, Gal. iii. 27. If the Triune Name was not at first employed in the act of baptizing, the conception of the Father and of the Holy Spirit would not be absent from the practice of the rite. Cf. Tit. iii. 5, 'the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost.' It is probable too that the term 'Baptism in the Name of the Lord Jesus' early became the distinguishing, abbreviated expression for Baptism in the Threefold Name, as our term 'Christian Baptism' is at the present day.

rather than a report of His actual words; yet it is certain, from what we see of the prevalence of the baptismal rite, that behind it must have been some such direct command and authority as are to be found in this passage. If so, we can imagine no occasion more opportune for its promulgation, than that of His bestowal of Mission upon the assembled Apostles, as here recorded by St. Matthew. The presence of a gloss[1]—if gloss it be—should not affect our

[1] The Trinitarian formula εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος stands in the text of all MSS. It has been shown by Professor Rördam of Copenhagen (in *Hibbert Journal*, July, 1905, p. 781), that in all probability the passage Matt. xxviii. 16-20 formed part of the lost ending of St. Mark's Gospel. If so, there was double attestation of the passage, and the supposed reproach of its being a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον would be removed. The same view was taken in the same year (1905) by Arnold Meyer in his *Die Auferstehung Christi*, p. 28, also by Chase in *The Journal of Theological Studies* for July, 1905, p. 482. Meyer says: 'Matthew follows Mark in his narrative in everything essential step by step, often almost word for word . . . Matthew goes right on where our Mark ceases—the guard does not come into consideration with Mark: the eleven disciples repair to Galilee to the mountain where Jesus had appointed them. There Jesus appears and gives the commission to preach the gospel to all peoples. Of this, what is essential could well have stood in Mark; the command answers, in simple form, to

reception of the historical record of which it forms a part. And it is the belief of the Church from the first, that Baptism originated

the promise, Mark xiii. 10.' All that can be said against the formula in *v.* 19 is that it possibly belongs to a later stratum of theological thought, and that the fact of its having a theological tinge excludes it from the sayings of Christ. It is alleged that He nowhere employs such an expression. But, as Sanday has pointed out, Hastings *D.B.* iv. p. 574, 'The combination (of Father and Son) is proved to have been in common use less than twenty-five years after the command (Matt. xxviii. 19) is said to have been given, and the complete Triad is proved to have been recognised very little later (Pauline Epistles, etc.).' The passage, therefore, is not only of good MS. authority, but is supported by the fact that conceptions of the same character obtained in the Church within a few years of the period to which it refers. This fact is a sufficient answer to the contention of Harnack, who bases his opinion that our Lord never uttered the words (*Dogmengeschichte*, i. p. 79, E.T.), partly on the plea that the formula did not possess the authority in the Apostolic age which it would have had, if it had proceeded from Christ Himself. Besides, it is inconceivable that St. Paul should have so soon and so boldly co-ordinated the expressions 'Father, Son and Holy Spirit' without authority of the highest kind. Some such saying as that of Matt. xxviii. 19 is required to account for the historic circumstances of the time. It is given in the present passage as having been uttered by our Lord immediately before His Ascension. It suffices for a basis for Apostolic expressions and practice, and affords sanction for much that we find in the thought-

as a Christian sacrament in the actual institution of Christ Himself. That belief in connection with a matter of such universal obligation is itself, an evidence of the strongest character.

What is its significance as regards the Person of Christ? First, it may be replied that the

of primitive Christianity. Cf. Plummer in Hastings *D.B.* i. p. 242 ; Chase, *Journal of Theological Studies*, July, 1905 ; Mason, in *Cambridge Theological Essays*, p. 456, note. A. Meyer is not historically justified in saying 'Doch lässt sich leicht zeigen, dass die Gestalt die er (i.e. der Taufbefehl) gerade in diesem Evangelium hat, nicht aus der apostolischen Zeit stammt, sondern viel späterer Herkunft ist.' *Die Auferstehung Christi*, p. 151. Chase (*op. cit.* p. 479) says : 'The attestation of Matt. xxviii. 19 can only be described as overwhelming' ; and again : 'The whole evidence—such, I believe, must be the verdict of scientific criticism—establishes without a shadow of doubt or uncertainty the genuineness of Matt. xxviii. 19' ; and (p. 512) 'There is no reason to question that in Matt. xxviii. 19 we have the substance of words actually spoken by the risen Lord.' Cf. Kirn, Art. 'Trinität' in *Real-Encyclop. für prot. Theologie und Kirche*, Bd. xx, 1908, p. 114, 'There is no doubt that in this passage, the belief of the Christian community in God is designated with unmistakable clearness. . . . This brief resumé of the Christian Faith has become the foundation and type of the later baptismal confession.' Cf. 'Didachê,' vii. 10, which, according to Lightfoot-Harmer, *The Apostolic Fathers*, p. 216, is to be assigned to the first, or the beginning of the second century A.D. *v. infra*, p. 259.

baptismal formula co-ordinates Him with the Father, a position inconceivable in the case of any created being. The first Christians were Jews. What must have been the conception which they formed of Christ, to justify their combining His Name with that of the Eternal Father, in the initiatory rite of the new faith! How could they have arrived at the conception, if it did not correspond with Christ's expressed or tacit acknowledgment of the truth of His Personality? Every hereditary instinct, as well as every page of their ancient Scriptures, would struggle in their minds against the admission of such a thought. Nothing less than the force of truth, irresistible and compelling, could have given them the assurance which led to their change of view, and induced them to place the name of their Master in the some category as that of Jehovah.

Then, secondly, the form of thought implied in Baptism obliges us to conceive of Christ as more than man. The expression 'into Christ,' or 'into the Name of Christ,' implies a relationship which is transcendental. No footing of duty or respect as between man and man, no tie between Master and disciple, can account

for the peculiar connection expressed in the baptismal formula.[1] The institution of Baptism by Christ, taken together with the mode of its practice and interpretation by the primitive community, points to something which is transcendental in His Person.

[1] Cf. the explanations of it given in the Pauline Epistles and in the Acts: 'baptized into Christ,' 'baptized into His death,' 'buried with Christ by baptism.'

CHAPTER X

SINLESSNESS. JUDGMENT

WHEN we look closely into our Lord's bearing, we are at once struck with the absence of one quality which we always associate with loftiness and purity of character. There is no sign of self-depreciation, or of that feeling of personal unworthiness which has been a characteristic of so many of the greatest men. Of humility and modesty there is abundant proof. As regards outward circumstances, He was always willing to take the lowest place. 'He came not to be ministered unto, but to minister.' 'He humbled Himself and became obedient unto death.' He accepted without a murmur the place between two thieves which the world assigned to Him. But, with all this humility, there is no sign of a sense of moral or spiritual deficiency; no trace of that want of correspondence between

aim and result which the noblest of men have ever experienced—'To will is present with me, but how to perform that which is good I find not.'[1] Hence there is no feeling of discord to mar the serenity of His bearing.[2] In the

[1] Rom. vii. 18.

[2] 'Why callest thou Me good? There is none good but One, that is, God.' Mk. x. 18 = Matt. xix. 17, Lu. xviii. 19, has been strangely misunderstood. The passage has been taken to imply repudiation of goodness on the part of our Lord. His meaning was something quite different. Goodness in its perfect, absolute, sense *is* the property of God alone. As H. J. Holtzmann says (*Das Messianische Bewusstsein Jesu*, 1907, p. 82): 'He forbids the address 'Good Master' because it would mean an invasion of the exclusive prerogative of God.' That is, from the ruler's defective knowledge. But so far from rejecting the address of the young ruler as inapplicable to Himself, He rather concentrates the man's attention upon the real meaning of his words, as apart from any mere approach of courtesy or politeness. He draws his thoughts to Himself. The reply may be compared with such questions as 'Whom do men say that I am?' (Mk. viii. 27). 'What think ye of Christ?' (Matt. xxii. 42). Goodness is a Divine quality. Our Lord would test the meaning of the ruler's address. He must consider what his words imply, and to Whom he is speaking. But whatever our interpretation of the passage, that is certainly wrong which tries to fasten upon our Lord's words a repudiation of His own sinlessness. Cf. *e.g.* Pfleiderer, *Die Entstehung des Christentums*, p. 94, who

criticisms and rebukes which He distributes so freely, as He looks round about Him, He never includes Himself. With unmatched insight He reads every character that appears before Him. His 'word is quick and powerful.' He is unsparing. His are the sternest of all sayings recorded in Scripture. He shows no mercy to certain states of heart. We get some indication of what is implied in those tremendous words, 'the wrath of the Lamb.' And when we turn from the trembling objects of His denunciation, and ask who is this who so unsparingly rebukes sin, we find that He speaks as one apart. There is entire aloofness in His attitude. It is clear that between the Reprover and the reproved there is an impassable gulf. The sins which He denounces are without Himself. Deeply as He feels for sinners, there is nothing in common between Himself and them, where the sin is

characteristically remarks: 'Jesus has in noble humility declined the attribution of moral perfection; He has replied to the address, "Good Master," "Why callest thou Me good? None is good but God" (Mk. x. 18).' But where is the *humility* in refusing what He had no right to? Common honesty would suffice in such a case! There is the same misunderstanding of the passage in K. Weidel's pamphlet, *Jesu Persönlichkeit*, 1908.

concerned. When He speaks of evil, He cannot draw upon His own experience. 'The Prince of this world cometh and hath nothing in Me.'[1] He is untouched by what He rebukes, as is the sun, by the foulness on which its beams may chance to rest. 'For Him, all men are sinners; He has no wounded conscience. They need repentance and forgiveness; He does not.'[2] Here is something which marks Him off from friends and foes as unique. 'He stands before us unattainable.'[3] He alone can fling out to friends and foes alike, without fear that it will be taken up, the great challenge, 'Which of you convinceth Me of sin?' If 'to err is human,' inerrancy must point to that in Christ which is more than human.

But Christ's attitude towards sin comprehended much more than indignation against it and rebuke

[1] Jo. xiv. 30. Except of course by way of temptation. Evil when presented to Him remained outside of His will. It only becomes sin when it is harboured and consented to. The terror and evil of sin were known to Him as to none else, as we see from the story of the Passion; but His inner life remained untouched. There was no sin in Him.

[2] v. Soden, *Die wichtigsten Fragen*, p. 91.

[3] Bousset, *Jesus*, p. 72.

of the sinner. His love for man allowed Him to make no terms with man's greatest foe, and when the sinner was indifferent to, or even gloried in, his sin, that same love impelled Him to language which seems at times to identify the sinner with his sin.[1] For love is always true and strong. Like the surgeon's knife, it often has to wound in order to heal. But where even the slightest sign of repudiation of sin, of desire of amendment, of sense of guilt, appeared, then, with an affecting eagerness, a very *abandon* of tenderness, the Saviour stepped forth. The Reprover absolves. The sinner stands before Him in all his wretchedness and need. With a word the sin is made to disappear. 'I have blotted out as a thick cloud thy transgressions and as a cloud thy sins.'[2] The prophetic promise is realised to the letter. 'Jesus said unto the sick of the palsy, Son, thy sins be forgiven thee.'[3] When bystanders are aghast, as well they might be, at the claim implied in such words, saying,

[1] Cf. the rebuke to Peter, λέγων, Ὕπαγε ὀπίσω μου Σατανᾶ, Mk. viii. 33, and the language employed towards Pharisees.

[2] Is. xliv. 22.

[3] From 'Petrine' Mark ii. 5 = Matt. ix. 2, Lu. v. 20, v. supra, p. 31.

'Why doth this man thus speak blasphemies? Who can forgive sins but God only?' there is no withdrawal, or explanation, forthcoming on the part of Christ: but He gives a sign, by a miracle of healing, that He, the Son of Man, has the power which His words imply, and that, as God Himself whose only prerogative it is to forgive, He can absolve the sinner from his sin. There is the same claim, and He takes up the same attitude, in the house of Simon.[1] To the 'woman which was a sinner,' when He saw the proof of her love and of an awakening faith, He said those simple words of Divine authority which were registered in heaven, while they were being spoken on earth; 'Thy sins are forgiven.' There is the same wondering comment: 'Who is this that even forgiveth sins?' the same steadfast, undeviating attitude on His part; no reply to the questioning of the people, but to the woman the added benediction, 'Go in peace.'

If the source of this power which is claimed by Christ be inquired after, there is but one reply adequate to all the circumstances contained in the Gospel narratives. It did not lie in the fact of His own sinlessness. Innocence is power,

[1] Luke vii. 48.

no doubt, but not such as that which is implied in the forgiveness of the sins of others. Purity can influence. It cannot command. It can lead and attract. It cannot occupy the seat of the Judge. Nor did the power lie in any principle of delegation, such as that which Christ Himself gave to the Apostles, that they might bind and loose in His Name. He does not speak as a delegate or representative of the Father, 'because the forgiveness of sins, though essentially a divine prerogative, may be sometimes exercised by man.'[1] If that had been His position in the two cases referred to, He would not have allowed the incidents to close with a misunderstanding. The bystanders considered that He was speaking the language, and asserting the prerogative, of God; and He—the man Christ Jesus—suffered them to think so. Why? Because they were right in the principle they laid down, though wrong as to its application. He Who could lawfully speak thus was, to use an expression of v. Soden,[2] (though employed by him in another

[1] Gardner, *Exploratio Evangelica*, p. 188.

[2] *Die wichtigsten Fragen im Leben Jesu*, p. 91. 'Er sich mit Gott auf die eine und die Menschen auf die andere Seite stellt.'

connection) placing Himself 'on the side of God.' The source of His power, and of what gave His claim validity, was that in Him which was Divine.[1]

Closely allied with His claim to forgive sins, is our Lord's assumption of the office of Judge. The penetrating gaze, which He directed on the hearts of men whom He met in the days of His flesh, here condemning and there forgiving, will one day be directed upon every member of the human race, with the result that to each will be apportioned his proper destiny. The Son of Man will return as Judge. 'It seems impossible to deny not only that Jesus predicted His own return, but that this expectation was an important element in His own Messianic consciousness.'[2] There is little need to recount

[1] Christ's manner of dealing with the woman taken in adultery is, as Westcott remarks, (additional note on St. Jo. viii. 1-12), akin to the tone of the common Synoptic basis. If the incident formed no original part of St. John's Gospel, it commends itself as resting on good tradition. Our Lord does not, as in the cases we have been dealing with, pronounce forgiveness, but He abstains from condemnation, and utters a final warning against repetition of the sin.

[2] Adams Brown in Hastings *D.B.* iii. p. 680. 'This coming is by Christ Himself associated with the end of

the evidence for this statement. Our Lord's eschatological discourses and many of His parables abound in allusion to His return to

the age and the day of final judgment.' *Ib.* p. 677. 'Other doctrines are based on detached texts, this on whole chapters and on great sections of that Common Tradition which is perhaps the most primitive part of the Gospels.' Gardner, *Exploratio Evangelica*, p. 278. But he goes on to quote Harnack (*Dogmengeschichte* i. p. 101, E.T.) with approval: 'In the matter of eschatology no one can say what sayings come from Christ and what from the disciples,' a remark which is not borne out by the evidence. It is in the parables and sayings descriptive of the end of the age, that perhaps the most characteristic of all the recorded teachings of our Lord may be found. 'Expunge the eschatological sayings from the Gospels . . . and one of the great formative influences in the history of Christian life and character is to be traced not to the mind of Christ, but to the after-thought of disciples.' Streatfield, *The Self-Interpretation of Jesus Christ*, p. 164. And Dr. Gardner admits (*op. cit.* p. 283) that 'the majority of recent critics regard it as almost indisputable that He did give utterance to such predictions.' He does not represent the view of thoughtful Christian people when he says: (p. 286) 'The bodily coming of Christ in the clouds has become to us a fanciful notion;' and again: 'The vision of a great final judgment . . . now seems to us to be an image only.' An actual, visible 'return' of Christ, followed by the final apportionment of his future lot to every member of the human race, is a fixed point in the belief of instructed Christian people of every school of thought. In proportion to the sincerity with which this

the earth as Judge, and to the principles on which He will exercise that tremendous office. Not only is this conclusion to be drawn from His own words, but the earliest Christian belief and expectation pointed to the Lord's return, and to His assumption of the office of Judge.

The first distinct promise of His return occurs in our Lord's saying reported by 'Petrine' Mark (viii. 38 and parallels). St. Matthew[1] adds the reason—for judgment: 'Then shall He reward every man according to his works.' And it is St. Matthew who records the great saying:[2]

conviction is held, is the strength and seriousness of the individual character. And there is an alternative to be faced. It is admitted that our Lord predicted His return to Judgment. What could He be to us as Saviour and Guide if, in so vital and far-reaching a matter as this, He is found to be giving expression to idle, baseless dreams? The case is one in which the difficulty created by the attempt to explain away the meaning of the text is far greater than that of its straightforward interpretation.

[1] xvi. 27. St. Luke follows Mark more closely. 'These passages are intertwined with much that is most characteristic of the teaching of Jesus.' Gardner, *ib.* p. 280.

[2] xxv. 31, 32, belonging, according to Allen (*in loc.*) to 'Q'. Harnack does not include the passage in 'Q' because it does not form part of material common to Matthew and Luke. He says, after conceding the possibility that Matt. xxii. 1-11 and xxv. 14-30 belong to 'Q': 'Everything else,

'When the Son of Man shall come in His glory and all the holy angels with Him, then shall He sit upon the throne of His glory: And before Him shall be gathered all nations: and He shall separate them one from another as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats.' Here, as in xvi. 27, we have the coming with the angels coupled with the object—for judgment. St. John[1] gives the remarkable explanation of the committal of the authority to judge, as made by the Father to the Son—'because He is the Son of Man.'

The Epistles of St. Paul and the Book of Revelation abound in references to the Second Coming of our Lord. There is no doubt that Christian thought from the first was constantly turning to the prospect of His return. If we ask for the authority underlying this universal conviction, we can go back to nothing short of that of Christ Himself. That alone could account for the belief—admitted by critics of every school—

which still stands in Matthew, in the way of parables and discourses, in the last chapters preceding the Passion, is probably to be excluded from 'Q'; for every indication that it belongs to it is wanting.' *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, ii. p. 129.

[1] v. 22, 27.

that the Saviour would sooner or later return as the Judge. Can any prerogative be imagined which more convincingly implies consciousness of Divinity than this? If ever we have presented to us alternatives from which there is no getting away, it is here. We cannot avoid the conclusion that the moral character of the Speaker stands committed. There is either the calm assertion of a great and solemn truth, or the inflated language of mere self-delusion : and such delusion passes from the intellectual to the moral sphere. Here, indeed, we can say, 'Aut Deus, aut non bonus homo.'

For, the exercise of judgment has always been regarded as a peculiarly solemn office. When called upon to determine the moral character of a person, we feel that we are venturing out of our depth. We go by external indications, and use our experience of life ; but ever before us stands a closed door. We cannot read the heart, or be sure of the motives which have been at work. In every civilized community the office of a Judge is surrounded with respect. Nowhere is St. Paul more emphatic than when he warns men against unwarranted assumption of it. Strictly speaking, we have neither the right nor the capacity to sit

in judgment upon one another: and if, for the preservation of society, it has been found necessary to set up a tribunal to decide between man and man, there is always the tacit admission that human judgments are not necessarily true or final and that, behind the bar at which these tentative and imperfect estimates are formed, stands the throne of 'the Judge of all the earth.'

Christ has claimed to occupy that throne. He has distinctly said that He will take upon Himself that office, which for its right fulfilment, requires the power to read the inmost heart, and a knowledge which can command every detail of the life; which can determine motives and separate their elements where mixed, as motives so often are: and this, not in the case of a few here and there, but at the great Assize, when every soul that has ever lived will be haled before Him. For 'we shall all stand before the judgment seat of Christ.'[1] Thus does St. Paul meet and confirm the Gospel tradition.

It is impossible, on any but arbitrary grounds, to reject this claim of Christ. The evidence for it is unimpeachable. It is admitted by the general consent of the Apostolic Church. It means that

[1] Rom. xiv. 10.

He advanced, and His people received, the claim to exercise a right which none but God Himself can fulfil.[1]

[1] Speaking of the tendency (traceable from the time of Daniel and the Similitudes of Enoch to the Gospel age), to connect the office of Judge more and more with the Messiah, Baldensperger remarks: 'The appointment of the Anointed One to an office, which God had always retained, denotes a decided approach of the Son of David, Who had once been thought of merely as an earthly being, to God Himself. It is an ascent from the throne of David to that of God.' *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, p. 120. In Old Testament prophecy generally, the office of Judge is conceived as belonging to God alone. Cf. Charles, *Expos.* for 1902, p. 258. 'As claims which are without any parallel in the Old Testament prophecy of the Messiah, we should mention first His claim to judge the world; and next to forgive sin; and finally to be the Lord of life and death. In the Old Testament these prerogatives belong to God alone as the essential head of the Kingdom and appear in those prophetic descriptions of the Kingdom which ignore the figure of the Messiah and represent God as manifesting Himself among men. Here, then, we have the Christ of the Gospels claiming not only to fulfil the Old Testament prophecies of the various ideals of the Messiah, but also to discharge the functions of God Himself in relation to the Kingdom.'

CHAPTER XI

THE RESURRECTION

In studying the Personality of Christ, we have to take into account the fact, admitted by critics of all schools, that He was believed by His disciples to have risen from the dead, and to have given proof of His Resurrection by appearing to them in Person.[1] It is not intended, in this argument, to make our conception of Christ's

[1] For evidence of this admission *v.* Schmiedel in *Encyclop. Biblica*, iv. p. 4061. 'Appearances of the risen Jesus did actually occur—*i.e.* the followers of Jesus really had the impression of having seen Him.' Loisy, *l'Évangile et l'Église*, p. 119. 'Le fait des apparitions lui (*i.e.* to the historian) semblera incontestable, mais il ne pourra en préciser exactement la nature et la portée.' *Ib.* p. 120. 'Quoique la critique puisse penser des difficultés et des divergences que présentent les récits concernant la résurrection du Sauveur, il est incontestable que la foi des apôtres a été excitée par les apparitions qui ont suivi la mort de Jésus, et que les apôtres, même Saint Paul, n'ont pas eu l'idée d'une immortalité distincte de la résurrection corporelle.'

Person dependent in any way upon the fact of His Resurrection; as in our discussion of His alleged miracles, we forebore to draw inferences in that direction.[1] But though we do not appeal to the Resurrection in order to establish our position, we have to deal with the belief in it, and with the results of that belief—facts which not only cannot be disputed, but which themselves must be accounted for, among the phenomena connected with the historic aspect of the Personality of Christ. If, in answer to our demand for an explanation of these facts, we receive one which can be shown to be inadequate, we have the right to press our opponents for the admission that our own explanation, if not acceptable to themselves, has a claim to be considered in the study of Christ's Person. We are not to be charged with begging the question if, in drawing the portrait of our Lord, we go for colour, if not for the main outline, to the evidence of men who tell us, in all good faith, that they have seen the Crucified in life again; any more than St. Paul is to be so charged, because he boldy asserts that the Sonship of Jesus Christ has been defined (ὁρισθέντος) by His Resurrection.[2]

[1] *v. suprà*, p. 186. [2] Rom. i. 4.

What we claim is, not to base our argument for the Divine being of Christ on a fact which our opponents dispute, but to use, in enforcing our view, the consideration that He was believed by men of good faith and saneness of mind to have appeared to them in actual life, more than once, after His death. In other words, we assert that His reputation—that which was believed about Him—is one of the determining factors in forming an estimate of His Person and Character; and if it can be shown that the course of history can only be explained on the ground that His followers from the first believed that He rose from the dead, we have the right to demand for that belief a hearing which shall do justice to its intensity and power.

For, the process of forming a just representation of Our Lord's Personality is, as we have seen, a complex one. It is derived partly from facts of His own consciousness as reported by the Gospels to have been disclosed by Him, partly from the report of those who had to do with Him, and in part from the effect which He is known to have had on the course of subsequent history, and on the lives of those who have submitted themselves to Him. We

have no other means than these of arriving at a sound estimate.

In the first place, it should be observed that we have Christ's own distinct assurance that His death would be followed by His rising again. 'He began to teach them that the Son of Man must suffer many things, and be rejected of the elders, and of the chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and after three days rise again.'[1] There is no doubt that these words were spoken. The rebuke to St. Peter—one of the most remarkable evidences of the trustworthiness of the Gospel records—depends upon their having been said. Another undoubted narrative relates to the disciples' failure to comprehend Christ upon this point—a further proof of the fact of His declaration.[2]

[1] Mk. viii. 31 = Matt. xvi. 21, Lu. ix. 22.

[2] Mk. ix. 31, 32 = Lu. xviii. 31-35. Yet Pfleiderer argues that our Lord did not foretell His Death and Resurrection, for the disciples did not understand Him! 'Besides, the Evangelists themselves say that the Passion and Resurrection prophecies of Jesus, unambiguous as they must have been, were nevertheless constantly misunderstood by the disciples; in this they betray the fact that, in the circle of disciples, nothing was known of the ostensibly foretold fate of Jesus before His actual entry (into Jerusalem), and that that prophecy can never have been uttered.' *Die Entstehung des Christentums*, p. 100. The testimony of the

In the closing chapters of the Gospels, we have the fourfold recital of the fulfilment of His promise as it appeared to the judgment of the several writers.

Now, if nothing answering to Christ's promise has occurred; if His foretold death has not been followed by a Resurrection (equally foretold), the Christian religion is without foundation in fact: it must have originated in a mistake.[1] But how did the mistake arise? Notwithstanding the disciples' entire failure to grasp our Lord's meaning and to anticipate a Resurrection, they must have come to the thought of one, and conceived that which, as we have seen, has been proved to have been the thing farthest from their thoughts. Now such

disciples against themselves is evidence of the fact which Pfleiderer rejects. Narratives like these, with their full Synoptic attestation, cannot be set aside by such a line of argument. Men do not gratuitously publish abroad their dulness or hardness of heart. The nature of the statements proves their truth.

[1] Cf. A. Meyer, *Was uns Jesus heute ist*, p. 34. 'The reality of Jesus is, in any case, assured through His Cross. . . . This shameful disaster was certainly not invented. Neither is it an invention that men, in spite of it, believed in Him and loved Him and, after His death, held closely to Him as the ever Living One; otherwise, later on, there had been no such thing as Christianity.'

a process is psychologically impossible. To ask us to believe that the disciples, out of their own inner consciousness, came to the conviction that Christ had risen and that they had seen Him, at a time when they were plunged in despair and in physical fear, is to present for our acceptance a thing incredible.[1] If we are offered it as an

[1] 'He appeared, not through any co-operation of their faith, but precisely when that faith had failed, by the sole operation of His own will and power. No one saw, or was able to see, Him until He showed Himself. Such is the plain statement of all the accounts. The appearances as described . . . were in the fullest degree objective, in our modern sense of the term. And we cannot therefore deny them the name of historical, simply for being new facts in history, of however strange a kind.' Illingworth, *The Doctrine of the Trinity*, pp. 39, 40. 'Spiritual facts are not complete until they have expressed themselves; and matter, as we call it, is their language, the medium of their expression. And the risen body of Christ was to His disciples this expression; the exhibition, the manifestation, and therefore the assurance of the spiritual triumph which it revealed.' *Ib.* p. 228. 'The appearances on Easter Day regarded as a whole, bear the stamp of the mind of Jesus Christ; the Easter sayings are such as no sane criticism can attribute to the imagination of the Apostolic age. It needs a sturdy scepticism to doubt that these narratives rest on a solid basis of fact, or that words so characteristic of the great Master are in substance the words of the risen Christ.' Swete, *The Appearances of Our Lord after the Passion*,' 1907, p. 40.

alternative to the creed of Christendom, we must say, as reasoning beings, that the miracle involved in the Resurrection is, under the circumstances—pointing as they do to the naturalness of such an event in view of the character, the Self-assertion and the claims of Christ—more easy of credence than that alternative.

But, as already observed, we do not in this argument take our stand or rest our case upon the Resurrection, firmly as we think it to remain on a basis of historic fact.

What we do claim is to have it acknowledged, not only that the disciples experienced a mighty revulsion of feeling within a short time of the Crucifixion, and that the cause of this revulsion was—according to their own showing—the belief that the Crucified One was bodily alive and had been seen by them, but that they regarded this supposed Resurrection as a sign of the unique relationship between God and the Risen One.[1]

And yet He, of Whom such things were believed, lay, *if they were untrue*, still and lifeless in His grave. All was over with Him. He was but a memory. There had been a birth, round which strange hopes had clustered, of which

[1] Rom. i. 4.

wonderful tales had been whispered—a birth sung in strains which have become the priceless treasures of the world's devotion. Then a time of silence, of growth and ordinary occupation, hidden away from the haunts of men among the hills of Nazareth. Then a short public career of uncertain duration—at the most of two years and a half[1]—spent in teaching and healing, and in forming a small band of followers for the same work. Then a sudden, and to all appearance, a fatal and final catastrophe—a death violent and shameful beyond expression, compassed by the combination of every existing authority, ecclesiastical and civil, and confirmed by the approval of the people.

Explain, on any rationalistic theory that has yet been advanced, how such a phenomenon as the Christian Faith and the Christian Hope could have followed on such an ending, no one has yet succeeded in doing. Unless we take the Christian

[1] *v.* Turner, Art. 'Chronology of the New Test.' in Hastings, *D.B.* i. p. 406 ff. Zellinger, *Die Dauer der öffentlichen Wirksamkeit Jesu*, 1907, in opposition to Fendt, who held that it lasted only one year with two Passovers—St. John's chronology being wrong—shows that a larger number of years can be proved from the Synoptics as well as St. John. *v.* v. Dobschütz in *Theol. Literatur-Zeitung*, June, 1907.

explanation of the historic facts to which we have referred, we have to leave the chief world-phenomenon hanging in mid air, with no visible connection with any adequate cause. The Christian religion is inexplicable. Such a state of things is as absurd as it is unnecessary.

Whereas, in the belief of the Church, we have, at any rate, an explanation against which nothing can be alleged which is not of the nature of an *à priori* argument—a pre-supposition based on a partial examination, not on complete knowledge, of phenomena;[1] while it is supported by a wide and varied range of evidence, which subsequent events have astonishingly confirmed.

It therefore appears justifiable to maintain that, in the circumstances of our Lord's Death and Resurrection as narrated in the Gospels, and in the primitive belief which they evoked, we have a mass of evidence which may be brought to bear

[1] *v.* above, p. 192 ff. Speaking of the novelty of the Resurrection being considered a bar to its historical character, Illingworth says: 'Nor must we for a moment imagine such procedure to be scientific. For it is precisely against such *à priori* repudiation of novelties that science has made all its progress and therefore perpetually protests.' *The Doctrine of the Trinity*, p. 40.

upon the mystery of His Person; evidence which points to the conclusion that He was more than Man.[1]

The character ascribed to our Lord's bodily appearances to His disciples, after His Resurrection, prepares the mind for the account of His Ascension. The disciples are conscious of a great change. They do not always recognise Him.[2] He comes and goes in a manner which

[1] Although the conception of Christ's Person, which we are endeavouring to make good, is not founded on the fact of the Resurrection, it may be observed that the evidential power of the Resurrection was recognised by the first disciples and by the primitive Church. The course of our argument lies in a different direction. It is not to determine the character of our Lord's Personality by the aid of His miracles—even by the greatest of them—His own Self-Resurrection. It is rather to ascertain the truth of His Person from evidence which is admitted by all reasonable criticism and then, having got at our conception of the Person, to urge that such facts as His Resurrection are but the natural expression of so Divine and unique a Being. Hence, in the present chapter, the belief of the Church and its right to be heard as an explanation of phenomena which come to us on the best authority, is brought forward as one of the contributory factors in determining the Person of Christ: the fact itself, if, as we believe, there be such a fact, is not employed to prove His transcendental character.

[2] Lu. xxiv. 16; Matt. xxviii. 17.

betokens the possession of powers which, if He possessed them, were for the most part kept in abeyance during His Ministry. At the same time, the Body, of which they became cognisant, was identical with that which was crucified. Of this fact, as we are assured, they had varied and repeated evidence. 'They did eat and drink with Him after He rose from the dead.' To their natural thought that they saw a ghost, Christ Himself offers the convincing test of touch; 'Handle Me and see: for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see Me have.' He took care that the men, whom He had chosen to be 'witnesses of His Resurrection,'[1] should have the fullest authority for their message. There was to be no uncertainty. A passing, momentary glimpse of a vanishing figure would have left them uncertain of the report of their senses. Eye and ear and touch are all appealed to. Every faculty of understanding, every sensible approach to reason is enlisted.[2] The Risen One appears

[1] Acts x. 41; Lu. xxiv. 39; Acts i. 22.

[2] 'It is not merely a form which the disciples see, and a voice which they hear; Jesus walks with them, sits at table with them, breaks the bread and hands it out to them (Lu. xxiv. 30, Jo. xxi. 13); He shows His hands

and, in spite of the despair and grief which He finds, leaves them in joy and hope and a certainty, which neither time nor persecution can destroy.

The Evangelists narrate these appearances as they occurred, without attempting to reconcile the apparent discrepancies in recitals which represent a Being Who belongs to two worlds,—that of sense and that of spirit.[1] In this firm and stedfast attitude towards their mysterious—to the world their impossible—subject, they present to the thoughtful mind strong evidence for the truth of what they relate. It may be said that, in this naïve presentation of

and His side, and presents His wound-prints to their touch (Jo. xx. 20, 27).' B. Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, ii. p. 562. *v. Hibbert Journal* for April, 1905, p. 540. Cf. the remarkable version of Christ's words in Ignat. *ad Smyrn.* 3. λάβετε, ψηλαφήσατε με, καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι οὐκ εἰμι δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον.

[1] Cf. Loofs, *Die Auferstehungsberichte und ihr Wert*, p. 37 : 'The sensible hidden as within a veil of the supersensible ; or, shall I say, the supersensible veiled in a robe of the sensible ?' 'Die wie in einen Schleier der Uebersinnlichkeit gehüllte Sinnenfälligkeit—oder soll ich sagen ; die in ein Kleid der Sinnenfälligkeit gehüllte Uebersinnlichkeit ?'

seeming opposites, they reveal the gulf which separates them from the thought of the modern world. But such an inference does not necessarily follow. They relate their experiences without modification. Their task is to report facts of their consciousness, and this they do. There is nothing to show that they were less aware of the presence of apparent inconsistencies than we should be. The way in which they give their testimony, without explanation or apology, shows that here, at any rate, we are introduced to a body of genuine and precise evidence, transmitted in a manner which invites our confidence.

The Gospels give no date for the cessation of the appearances of the risen Lord. Neither St. Mark in the appendix to his Gospel, nor St. Luke,[1] the only evangelists who refer to it, give any hint as to when they ceased. To St. Luke, in Acts i., we owe the knowledge that it was on the fortieth day after the Resurrection.[2] Nor are the Gospels precise as to the cause or manner of the ceasing of the

[1] Mark xvi. 19, Luke xxiv. 51.

[2] i. 3. Cf. Acts xiii. 31, where St. Paul at Antioch says: 'He was seen many days of them.'

appearances.[1] St. Luke states that while 'He blessed them, He was parted from them.' The author of the last twelve verses of St. Mark states that 'after the Lord had spoken unto them, He was received up (ἀνελήμφθη) into heaven and sat on the right hand of God.' The fullest description of the last stage of the Saviour's earthly life is furnished by St. Luke in the opening of his history of the Church. And this is fitting; for the passing of the Lord from earth to heaven, from the seen to the unseen, His session at the right hand of God, with the resulting outpouring of the Holy Spirit, made the founding of the Church a reality; and thus the description of the Ascension, as it appeared to the witnesses, belongs not so much to the Gospel of the earthly life as to the Gospel of the heavenly activity of the exalted Christ.

Here, as in the case of the Resurrection, we have to do with phenomena with which science,

[1] The MS. evidence for St. Luke xxiv. 51, καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, is defective. Plummer points out *in loc.* that St. Luke considered that he had recorded the Ascension in his Gospel, for in the Acts (i. 1, 2) he expressly states that ὁ πρῶτος λόγος contained the work of Jesus, ἄχρι ἧς ἡμέρας . . . ἀνελήμφθη.

in its present stage, is powerless to deal. But if it cannot follow and test the facts as they are narrated by the New Testament writers, science knows enough of the possibilities which as yet lie hidden in the borderland of spirit and matter, to refuse to pronounce the impossibility of such an event as the Ascension. Like the Resurrection, it is a matter in which evidence, congruity with circumstances, and correspondence with known facts of life, will influence us for or against its acceptance. We shall argue from our view of Christ's Person to the probability of His Ascension ; not from the Ascension to the Person. Yet again, as in our treatment of His Resurrection, we claim that the belief of His Apostolic witnesses and the consenting mind of His Church are factors, which have to be taken into account in forming our estimate of His Person.

We have to reckon with the fact that the appearances, which the risen Lord is admitted to have granted to the disciples,[1] came to an end. The Gospel testimony to the character of His risen body makes it clear that, at the Resurrection, He had entered upon another sphere

[1] *v. suprà*, p. 240, n. 1.

of being.[1] His solemn withdrawal, in the act of blessing His disciples, at the last meeting with them, is interpreted as His passing definitely within that sphere of existence which we call heaven. He had Himself, according to St. Matthew, implied it, and according to St. John, directly foretold it.[2] The belief that in His risen body, He entered heaven as His

[1] According to Schmiedel, *Enc. Bibl.* iv. pp. 4060 and 4059, who cites the Epistle of Barnabas xv. 9 in support of his view, 'the Resurrection and Ascension are a single act; Jesus is taken up directly from the grave or from the under-world into heaven . . . In his gospel the author of Acts has assigned the Ascension to a time late in the evening of the day of the Resurrection.' Harnack takes a similar view in *Dogmengeschichte*, i. p. 146, and in *Das apostolische Glaubensbekenntniss*; also in *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, iii. *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 1908, p. 128. '(Luke) makes it (the Ascension) follow—not after forty days—but on Easter Day.' But see Swete, *The Apostles Creed*, p. 69, and the present writer in *The Hibbert Journal* for April, 1905, p. 537. Cf. Swete, *The Appearances of Our Lord after the Passion*, p. xvii. Plummer in Luke xxiv. 50. The passage in *Ep. Barn.* xv. 9, διὸ καὶ ἄγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ὀγδόην εἰς εὐφροσύνην, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὁ Ιησοῦς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ φανερωθεὶς ἀνέβη εἰς οὐρανούς, simply states that Jesus both rose and ascended on a Sunday, not necessarily on *the same* Sunday. Cf. A. Meyer, *Die Auferstehung Christi*, p. 54.

[2] Matt. xxvi. 64; John xvi. 5, 10, 16, 28, etc.

natural home, became the possession of the Apostolic Church, and passed into the creed of Christendom. Like the Resurrection, it bears witness to the conviction held by the first disciples that He, Who so overcame death and so passed from their sight, was more than man.[1]

[1] Cf. B. Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, ii. p 577. 'Since the appearances of the Risen One were all intended to make the disciples sensibly certain of His bodily resurrection, it is quite conceivable that this, His definite departure from the earth, was demonstrated to their senses (veranschaulicht wurde) by His disappearance in a cloud and seeming to be raised up to heaven with it.'

CHAPTER XII

THE SON OF GOD

CLOSELY connected with the Messiahship of Jesus is the title 'Son of God', which we find applied to Him in the Gospels.[1] For, although this title had no specially Messianic significance either in early or late Jewish thought,[2] we find it very soon adopted in reference to Christ by His contemporaries,[3]

[1] 'L'on trouverait sans peine, dans les Évangiles, plus d'un passage d'où il résulte que le titre de Fils de Dieu, était pour les Juifs, pour les disciples et pour le Sauveur même, l'équivalent de Messie.' Loisy, *L'Évangile et l'Église*, p. 76.

[2] Cf. Dalman, *D. Worte Jesu*, p. 223. 'Son of God was not a customary Messianic designation.' 'The Jewish people never expected that the Messiah would be born without an earthly father.' *Ib.* p. 226. But *v.* Sanday, Art. 'Son of God' in Hastings, *D.B.* iv. p. 571, and *v.* next note. Cf. Lepin, *Jésus, Messie et Fils de Dieu*, p. 282; Swete on Mk. xiv. 61.

[3] Matt. xvi. 16, where the words ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος expand the idea contained in ὁ Χριστός. In Lu.

doubtless under the influence of Pss. ii. and lxxxix.

But it is much more than a Messianic title, as will appear on referring to its employment, either in full or by implication, in the Synoptic narrative. Strictly speaking, in the consciousness of our Lord Himself, His Sonship to God preceded His Messiahship. The higher intuition came first.[1] The title had been applied in the Old Testament to the theocratic people[2] and also to their King.[3] It would commend itself as singularly applicable to the Christian Messiah, in Whom men saw the fulfilment of promises which had their first application to the chosen people and the chosen King. The more general and indeterminate use of the term, as they met with it in their Scriptures, did not hinder them from applying it to Christ, with all the greater confidence as their appreciation of His Person deepened.

xxii. 66-71, the two expressions, Messiah and Son of God, are used by the priests as equivalents.

[1] Cf. Barth, *Die Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesu*, p. 249.

[2] Ex. iv. 22.

[3] 2 Sam. vii. 14. 'Der Sohn Gottes in Sonderheit ist Israel und der König von Israel.' Wellhausen in Mk. i. 9-11.

There are two lines along which our investigation may proceed; historically, in the order in which we find any allusion to the subject, or with regard to the relative authenticity and importance of the allusions, apart from chronological sequence. The latter method appears preferable.

We shall therefore in the first place take the Synoptic passages in which unique Sonship of God is referred to Christ. Of these, perhaps the most important is St. Matt. xi. 27.[1] Here Christ Himself is speaking. The occasion of His utterance is His claim to a knowledge of the Father, which is confined to Himself and to those to whom He may impart it. As Harnack puts it,[2] 'Knowledge of God is the sphere of His Sonship of God.' It is not the cause of His Sonship. That He does not allude to. But we may be certain that the relation, in which He believes Himself to stand with the Father, is no

[1] For a discussion of the authenticity of this passage *v. suprà*, p. 163, note 3.

[2] *Wesen des Christenthums*, p. 81. Cf. Loisy, *L'Évangile et l'Église*, p. 78. 'Il n'y a qu'un Père et qu'un Fils, constitués, en quelque façon, par la connaissance qu'ils ont l'un de l'autre, entités absolues dont le rapport aussi est absolu.'

mere tie of moral[1] or intellectual or official (Messianic)[2] affinity. It is something which goes down to the depths of Being; which, as the aorist ἔγνω shows, is a timeless relationship. The point to be emphasized in this great passage is the fact that the filial relation between Jesus Christ and God the Father is entirely unique.

[1] As Pfleiderer urges, *Die Entstehung des Christentums*, p. 94. 'Accordingly, He ranged Himself alongside of other men . . . He felt that He was Son of God in no other sense than a moral-religious one.' But see Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, p. 235. 'Never do we find that Jesus styled Himself Son of God in such a sense that a mere religious-ethical relation to God was to be thought of, such as others possess, or could and therefore ought to possess.' Barth, *Die Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesu*, p. 247. 'With Jesus there confronts us a mysterious exaltation, as opposed to the religious-moral consciousness of Sonship to which other men could attain.' Loisy, *L'Évangile et l'Église*, p. 78. 'Il s'agit visiblement d'un rapport transcendant, d'où ressort la haute dignité du Christ, et non d'une réalité psychologique, dont on ne voit pas la possibilité par rapport à Dieu. Père et Fils ne sont pas ici des termes purement religieux, mais déjà des termes métaphysiques, théologiques, et la spéculation dogmatique a pu s'en emparer, sans en modifier beaucoup le sens.'

[2] As held by Loisy, *L'Évangile et l'Église*, p. 90. 'En tant que le titre de Fils de Dieu appartient exclusivement au Sauveur, il équivaut à celui de Messie, et il se fond sur la qualité de Messie.' *Ib.* p. 91. 'Jésus se dit Fils unique de Dieu dans la mesure où il s'avoue Messie.'

This becomes still more evident, if we refer to passages in which our Lord addresses God as Father, and to those in which He is speaking to the disciples of the Fatherhood of God. He never includes them with Himself in this connection. God is *His* Father. God is *their* Father. He never speaks of Him as *our* Father.[1] The relation in which He stands to God cannot be shared by His followers, however devoted and loyal to Him. It is something quite apart.

Another passage, the authenticity of which is admitted by critics of various schools,[2] is St.

[1] The beginning of the Lord's Prayer is of course no exception to this rule. There, our Lord is giving the disciples a special form of prayer for their own use. Cf. Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, p. 230, who remarks that our Lord's unique relation to God as the Son follows from the distinction which He consistently draws between 'My Father' and 'your Father.' Cf. Kühl, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, p. 18. 'It is not mere chance that Jesus never includes Himself with his contemporaries, or even only with the disciples, His companions in the kingdom of God, when He speaks of God as His Father. He says either 'your Father' or 'My Father'; and it is quite conceivable that it was just from this fact that the Jews got the impression of blasphemy, because He placed Himself on a par with God when He called Him His own Father. Jo. v. 18.'

[2] *e.g.* Schmiedel, who considers this passage one of the foundation texts for a scientific study of the Person of

Mark xiii. 32. Here, again, there is the same special and unique relation. There is an ascending scale in those to whom ignorance of the time of the coming of the Day of God is imputed—man, angels, the Son. Angels separate ordinary man from the Son. But the Son is placed in such juxtaposition to the Father as to entirely separate Him from the other beings named, although He is one with them in ignorance of the time of the Judgment Day. There is the same correlation—Father and Son—as in the passage previously discussed.

Closely akin to the above passages is the baptismal formula of St. Matt. xxviii. 19. It may well have been derived from the lost ending of St. Mark's Gospel.[1] It is supported by the two

Christ. Art. 'Gospels,' p. 1881, in *Encycl. Bibl.* ii. Dalman, speaking of this passage and Matt. xxviii. 19, makes the curious comment: 'Die Fassung beider Worte, welche eine sonst in Jesu Rede unerhörte Verwendung des Sohnesnamens enthalten, wird durch die Ausdrucksweise der Urkirche bestimmt sein.' *Die Worte Jesu*, p. 235. St. Matthew's omission of οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός is characteristic of him. *v.* Allen on xxiv. 36, and *v. suprà*, p. 218, note 1.

[1] *v.* A. Wright's *Synopsis of the Gospels*, p. 174, and T. S. Rördam in *Hibbert Journal* for July, 1905, p. 781. If this view is well grounded, the importance of the passage is greatly heightened. From a 'Sondergut' of St. Matthew,

passages which we have been considering, and the addition of 'the Holy Spirit' to 'the Father,' 'The Son,' may be due to the fact that both in

it becomes a doubly attested passage. The fact that within a few years of the Crucifixion, Baptism in the Three-fold Name had become a regular institution of the Church, requires some such authorisation as that which is supplied in this passage, to explain it. Much has been made of the fact that, in his citations up to the time of the Nicene Council, Eusebius quoted the text in this form: Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνοματί μου. *v.* Conybeare in *Zeitschrift für neutest. Wissenschaft*, 1901, pp. 273-288. Cf. Loisy, *Autour d'un petit Livre*, 1903, p. 232, who observes, 'Si le passage est une Glosse, ce serait en effet, la liturgie baptismale qui l'aurait suggerée.' But it has been shown that the Text, as we have it, appears in the most ancient MSS. Baptism in the Three-fold Name is enjoined in the Didachê, dating, according to Lightfoot (*Apostolic Fathers*), from the end of the first or the beginning of the second century. Irenaeus (*Adv. Haeres*, iii. 17), Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 61), Tertullian (*De Baptismo*, c. xiii.), Origen (*Scholia in Evan. secund. Matt.* xxviii. 18) and others cite it in similar terms. Besides, for our purpose, the Eusebian form emphasizes, rather than detracts from, the position taken up by our Lord in the words attributed to Him. Disciples who were initiated by Baptism, which as we know was soon administered in the Threefold Name, are to be enlisted in *His own* Name. Thus the formula of Eusebius would, as Loisy observes (*Autour d'un petit Livre*, p. 232), accord with those passages in the Pauline Epistles and in the Acts which speak of Baptism administered in the Name of Jesus Christ. Barth quotes St. Matt. xvi. 18

Jewish and Christian circles, the Name and office of the Third Person of the Trinity were familiar, and that the time had come for the clear co-ordination of the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son, in the Unity of the Godhead.[1]

Then we have the use of the term 'The Son' in a special sense in parables. In that of the Wicked Husbandmen,[2] where the 'beloved Son'

(*Die Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesu*, p. 249) where Christ calls the Church 'His,' while the O.T. only knows of a Church of Jehovah (not of Moses, Joshua, etc.), as further evidence of the character of His claim. *v. suprà*, pp. 217 ff.

Origen's words are as follows: Χώραν ἔσχεν ἡ ξωὴ πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω, εἶτα νῦν καὶ ἐν τοῖς κάτω· οὓς θαῤῥοῦντες βαπτίσατε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Εἷς ὁ σώζων, μία ἡ σωτηρία. Εἷς ὁ ζῶν Πατὴρ, ὁ Υἱὸς, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Εἷς ἐστιν οὐ συναλοιφῇ τῶν τριῶν, ἀλλ' οὐσίᾳ μιᾷ· τρεῖς δὲ ὑποστάσεις τέλειαι ἐν πᾶσι καὶ κατάλληλοι.

[1] Cf. Swete in Hastings, *D.B.* ii. p. 408(γ). *v.* Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, p. 166. Cf. ii. Cor. xiii. 14, and *v.* Sanday, *Criticism of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 219.

[2] Mk. xii. 6. 'He presents Himself to them openly to be acknowledged as the Son of God.' Wellhausen, in *loc. v.* 12. The contention of Loisy, *Études Évangeliques*, 1902, pp. 51, 52, and of N. Schmidt in *Encycl. Bibl.* iv. p. 4699, following Jülicher, *D. Gleichnisreden Jesu*, 1899, p. 116, that this parable is not an utterance of Christ, has found no favour with Wellhausen (in Mc. xii.), B. Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, ii. p. 423, O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu*, p. 333, and H. J. Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch der Neutest. Theologie*, i. p. 266; and

is recognised as the heir, He is, as Dalman, Sanday and Barth point out, distinguished from all other Messengers. In the Marriage Feast which the King makes for His Son,[1] the same uniqueness of relationship is apparent.

Bearing in mind the distinctive use by our Lord of the expression 'My Father,' alluded to above, importance attaches to such incidents as that narrated by St. Luke of His Childhood. Comparing the saying attributed to Him, 'Wist ye not that I must be about My Father's business?'[2] with such passages as the Logian 'he that doeth the Will of My Father Which is in heaven,' and 'Whosoever therefore shall confess Me before men, him will I confess also before My Father Which is in heaven,' we get the impression that our Lord is speaking of an unique relationship to His heavenly Father, and that very early in His career He was fully conscious of it.[3]

may well be dismissed from consideration. N. Schmidt is particularly unconvincing when he gives the reasons for his decision. *v.* Sanday in Hastings' *D.B.* iv. p. 572; Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, p. 230; Barth, *D. Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesu*, p. 249.

[1] Matt. xxii. 2. [2] Luke ii. 49; Matt. vii. 21, x. 32, 33.

[3] Barth, *D. Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesu*, p. 248, observes that doubt has been cast on St. Luke ii. 41 ff. owing to

We have next to consider the occasions on which the Sonship of Christ is said to be acknowledged 'supernaturally' by the Father. If the passages containing them are historically reliable, we have the Self-consciousness of Christ as to His Divine Sonship confirmed by a witness, which the evangelical narrative does not hesitate to ascribe to God Himself. Here we transcend, of course, the limits of ordinary historical inquiry. But we can at least approach the narratives with a resolve to ascertain how far the setting of the reported occurrences, and the mode by which they became known, wear the appearance of probability.

The first of the occasions is the Baptism in the Jordan by the Baptist. It is contained in Petrine Mark i. 11, with its parallels Matt. iii. 17, Luke iii.

similar incidents being reported by Josephus of Moses, Samuel, and even of Josephus himself; but adds that one has only to compare such generalities and rodomontades (Prahlereien) with St. Luke's account, to see the genuine character of Christ's answer to His parents, with its depth and simplicity. 'At first He was not fully conscious of the uniqueness of His relation to God: that consciousness must have been awakened by outward testimony of His parents —itself a Divine revelation.' Garvie in *Expositor* for April, 1902. *v.* Barth, *op. cit.* p. 249. 'Here already speaks His consciousness that His relation to God is something more sacred than even His duty as a child to His parents.'

22, and is one of the recitals which, in the words of v. Soden, 'do not offer the slightest ground for doubt as to their historical character.'[1] There was a voice from heaven, addressed according to St. Mark and St. Luke directly to Christ; according to St. Matthew, speaking of Him in the third person, as if to bystanders. But in each case, the testimony is the same—'My Son, the Beloved.'[2] Two persons only would be in a position to report what occurred—our Lord Himself and the Baptist. In the case of the Temptation, it must have been our Lord from Whom the disciples heard what had happened. So it may have been here.[3]

In this incident we have a kind of testimony which appeals to those who accept the miraculous elements of the Gospel History. It has no weight with those whom *à priori* considerations bar from accepting them. But coming to us on the authority of the most undoubted sources—

[1] *Die Wichtigsten Fragen*, p. 40.

[2] Ἀγαπητός in Gen. xxii. 2 and elsewhere is the LXX rendering for יָחִיד (μονογενής). *v.* Hort, *Two Dissertations*, p. 49 ff. and Swete in Mk. i. 11.

[3] εἶδεν . . . τὸ πνεῦμα ὡς περιστερὰν καταβαῖνον εἰς αὐτόν points to our Lord as informant. It was *He* who saw the descent of the Holy Spirit.

the triple Synoptic tradition starting from Petrine Mark—it has all the appearance of representing an actual event of the greatest moment in the experience of Christ, setting Him apart as Messiah, defining His relationship to the Father, meeting His own convictions and placing upon them the seal of the Divine sanction.

The Transfiguration rests on the same triple Synoptic evidence as the Baptism.[1] For our present purpose, the only point to be observed is the statement that, from the overshadowing cloud came a voice, presumably of the Father, saying, according to St. Mark and St. Matthew, 'This is My Son, the Beloved'; according to St. Luke, 'This is my Son, the Chosen One.' St. Matthew alone adds 'in Whom I am well pleased.'[2] Each Evangelist concludes with the words 'Hear Him.'

The similarity of expression, as compared with what is narrated of the Baptism, is striking and points to similarity of internal conditions in the two incidents. In each case, there is testimony

[1] Matt. xvii. 1 ff.; Mark ix. 2 ff.; Luke ix. 28 ff. V. Soden arbitrarily excludes the Transfiguration from his Petrine Mark selection.

[2] Note the timeless aor. εὐδόκησα.

to the unique Sonship of Christ together with approval of Him. That the second incident is not a mere doublet of the first, is clear from the totally different circumstances and from the fact that its disclosure, though made to the disciples, was by our Lord's express command to be kept for a time to themselves.[1]

Can we form for ourselves any precise representation of what actually occurred? That a definite, historical incident took place, appears from the impression to which the writer of 2 Peter bears witness. That it was not as an

[1] Schmiedel is inclined towards a view which is the converse of that here controverted, and to consider the voice at the Baptism as resting on an anticipation on the part of the narrators. He holds that, at the first period of our Lord's life, He had not begun to consider Himself the Messiah; such a declaration therefore at the Baptism would be premature. *Encyclop. Bibl.* iv. p. 4570. O. Holtzmann curiously suggests that the account of the Transfiguration represents the internal experiences of the Disciples during the incident at Caesarea Philippi, Matt. xvi. 13-21. *Leben Jesu*, p. 268. It was rather, as Sanday observes (Hastings' *D.B.* ii. p. 629), 'an outward Divine sanction to the Apostolic confession.' A. Schweitzer asks, if Holtzmann is right, 'how then does Mark come to date the former scene (the Transfiguration) expressly and to place it (Mark ix. 2) six days after the words of Jesus about His death upon the Cross?' *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, p. 295.

experience confined to Christ Himself—as was the case at the Baptism—is clear from that fact and from the association—so fully borne witness to by all three Evangelists—of the three leading disciples. The suggestion of B. Weiss, that the process was that of a divinely caused vision, is difficult to apply to the circumstances narrated. A vision, which should appeal both to our Lord and to three of His disciples, could not be one and the same. It would not be applicable. The circumstances of the case are perhaps best met by the supposition that the process was of a mixed kind—an appearance of Christ glorified to the bodily sight—specially illuminated—of the disciples;[1] a voice from heaven actually heard;[2] and (possibly) a vision of Moses and Elijah.

[1] Alluded to in John i. 14.

[2] Cf. John xii. 28-31. It was the hearing of a voice from heaven, besides the witnessing of Christ's majesty, which is specially called to mind by the writer of 2 Peter i. 17, 18. Whatever our position as to the genuineness of the Epistle, it undoubtedly represents early belief in the historical character of the Transfiguration. Spitta and Zahn consider that the allusion is independent of the Gospel narratives. *v.* Chase, Article 'Peter' in Hastings' *D.B.* iii., who assigns the Epistle to about the middle of the second century. But cf. Bigg, *The Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, p. 242 ff.

As in the case of the Baptism, there is nothing in the narrative of the Transfiguration which, however hard to represent to ourselves in every detail, need make it difficult to receive, if, as Weiss says,[1] we are prepared to believe in Divine revelations and to credit the witnesses with freedom from self-deception.

The ascription of Divine Sonship to Christ by men must be considered next. The most important, if not the first, instance[2] is St. Matthew's account of the confession of St. Peter at Caesarea Philippi.[3] It is an extension—whether

[1] *Leben Jesu* ii. p. 296. 'Für den, welcher an göttliche Offenbarungen glaubt und um nicht hervorragende Männer des Alten und Neuen Testaments des Selbstbetrugs oder der Lüge zu zeihen annimmt, dass Gott sich auch der Vision als eines Mittels dazu bedient, für den hat unsere Geschichte durchaus keine Schwierigkeit.'

[2] Not to speak of the instances reported in John i. (John the Baptist, Nathanael), Matt. (xiv. 33) states that, on an occasion before that of Caesarea Philippi, when Christ had been walking upon the sea, the disciples worshipped Him, 'saying, of a truth, Thou art the Son of God.' The tendency of critical thought is to regard these as instances of the transference of a later stage of belief to earlier incidents. But such an explanation, in view of the clearly defined historical settings of the occurrences, does not appear to meet the conditions.

[3] Matt. xvi. 16, Mark viii. 29, Luke ix. 20. According

by way of explanation or as due to reference to another source—of the Petrine Mark confession, 'Thou art the Christ.' There is no reason to doubt that it correctly represents the words actually spoken.[1] What it implied of St. Peter's knowledge and faith, we cannot say. That, as

to Wellhausen in Matt. xvi. 16, we must take the confession thus—'The Son of God, the Saviour'; Für ζῶντος bietet D σώζοντος. Im Aramäischen ist σώζειν das Aphel von ζῆν. Aber da im Aram. Nominativ und Genitiv sich nicht unterscheiden, so müsste dann verstanden werden: der Sohn Gottes, der Heiland.'

[1] If, as is probable, the source of St. Matthew's version of the confession was the Logia, then in view of the opinion of Harnack (*Beiträge zur Einleitung in das N. Testament*, ii. 1907), Ramsay (*Expositor* for 1907), and others, that the Logia was the oldest Gospel source, we have in Matt. xvi. 16 a version which goes back behind Petrine Mark and may be taken as the original report of the incident. An additional indication that St. Peter said more than St. Mark reports, is to be found in Christ's glowing words of commendation and in His declaration, 'Flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but My Father Which is in heaven.' Such a pronouncement would be exaggerated if St. Peter had merely owned to His Messiahship. As O. Holtzmann says (*Leben Jesu*, p. 253), 'Der Inhalt der Worte verbürgt ihre Echtheit.' In His answer, Christ confirms the relation in which, as St. Peter owns, He stands to God, with the words 'My Father Which is in heaven'—an additional proof of the accuracy of St. Matthew's account of the confession.

in other cases, the words meant more than the speaker knew, is probable enough. The reach of faith is not to be confined within the limitations of precise knowledge, nor can it always be logically justified. It was enough that the large heart of the Apostle guided him aright, and that he became capable of receiving and expressing what was nothing less than a Divine revelation.

Next in importance to this incident is the exclamation of the Centurion at the Cross. Moved, according to St. Mark, by the manner of Christ's death, ὅτι οὕτως ἐξέπνευσεν, according to St. Matthew and St. Luke, by the attendant circumstances, he cried, 'Truly this was a Son of God.' As Wellhausen remarks,[1] he used the expression in a heathen sense; but it meant, we may be sure, that the things which he had heard said of Christ—that He was a Divine Being, and so forth—were in his opinion true. The incident is an illustration of the effect produced by the character and bearing of our Lord upon those outside His own people.

From this we may pass to the testimony alleged to have been given by evil spirits. For

[1] *Das Evangelium Marci*, xv. 39.

the fact that, when cast out of those possessed, they addressed our Lord as the Son of God, we have full Synoptic evidence.[1] Our attitude towards these phenomena will depend largely on our presuppositions with regard to intercourse with the spiritual world; but we have to take into account that, in the belief even of His enemies, our Lord had power over it. We also gather from what is told us of His silencing the testimony of the evil spirits, that it was believed that they had some knowledge of Him which disciples had not yet acquired. Here, again, it is perhaps impossible to obtain a clear representation of what occurred: but we have at least to acknowledge that, in the belief both of disciples and of enemies, our Lord had power which was obeyed and confessed by evil spirits.[2]

[1] Mk. iii. 11, v. 7. Cf. i. 24, Matt. viii. 29, Lu. iv. 41, viii. 28; cf. iv. 34.

[2] In this connection we may refer to what must be considered an allusion to what had passed at the Baptism. 'If Thou be the Son of God,' as had been so recently declared by the voice from heaven, 'command that these stones be made bread,'—'cast Thyself down.' This challenge of the Tempter in the wilderness is repeated, satanically, by man at the Cross—'if Thou be the Son of God, come down from the Cross.' Matt. xxvii. 40.

Then, on the evidence of material peculiar to St. Luke, we have the account of the Annunciation, in which the angel Gabriel makes the statement that the Child promised to Mary 'shall be called the Son of the Highest' (i. 32), and again, 'the Son of God' (*v.* 35). In this, we see implied a divinely given forecast of the place which the Saviour will hold in the estimation of mankind—a forecast amply fulfilled in the event. Our sense of the importance of the Annunciation, as a foreshadowing of the entrance of Christ into the world and of the significance attaching to it, will of course depend on our view of the historical character of the early chapters of St. Luke's Gospel. But there can be no doubt that the labours of recent scholars have done much to recommend the trustworthiness of this most beautiful portion of the Gospel narrative.[1]

[1] As Ramsay remarks on ἄνωθεν (Lu. i. 3), the writer 'claims to trace the whole series of events from their origin—that is, he has in view the narrative which he proceeds to give of Christ's birth and early days.' *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* p. 15. Cf. H. Holtzmann, *Einleitung in das N. Testament*, p. 377. 'Still beyond that which the first reporters were able to narrate, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, *i.e.* according to Mark i. 14, since the Baptism by John—reaching up to the circumstances of the birth not only of Christ Himself (as Matt. i. 1 ff.) but also

Lastly—because our argument is not intended to rest upon evidence derived from the Fourth Gospel—we have to consider the weight to be assigned to St. John's allusions to the Divine Sonship of Christ. Not only are they more frequent than in the Synoptics, but they pervade the Gospel from beginning to end. We miss the traces of a gradual development of the idea, whether by way of manifestation on the part of Christ, or of recognition on the part of the disciples, which are apparent in the Synoptic record. In the very first chapter, confession of Christ as the Son of God and as the atoning Saviour—'the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world'—is directly assigned to John the Baptist; and Nathanael exclaims, 'Thou art the Son of God.' Along with these direct confessions we meet, very early in the Gospel, with such expressions as 'His disciples believed

of the Forerunner.' *v.* Swete, *Apostles' Creed*, p. 49. 'The style of St. Luke i. 5, ii. 52, points clearly to sources older than the Gospel itself. . . . It has an archaic tone.' *v.* Sanday in Hastings' *D.B.* ii. p. 646. 'The historical value of the documents, especially Lu. i, ii has been gradually rising in the estimation of scholars. . . . The opening chapters of St. Luke are full of small indications of authenticity.'

on Him.' We have to account for this phenomenon. Does it oblige us to part with all confidence in the historical character of the Fourth Gospel? Are we listening to the reflections of the writer thrown back into historical form, not to a recital of actual events?

In the opinion of the present writer, the answer must be in the negative. Several considerations point to an historical ground for the Evangelist's statements. The expectation of the Messiah was in the air, and would be especially entertained by those who were in the *entourage* of the Baptist. The early chapters of St. Luke indicate this fact. Simeon and Anna are living persons: everything said of them and of their belief sounds true to fact. It is entirely probable that, here and there, certain people would be in advance of their fellows in intuition and spiritual perception, as well as in faith. With regard to the utterances ascribed to the Baptist himself, not only do they stand in connection with definite incidents which point to foundation in fact; but, if we consider our Lord's own tribute to the standing and character of the speaker as a prophet, such utterances were to be expected from him.[1] The greatest of all

[1] Matt. xi. 11; Lu. vii. 28, from the *Logia*.

the prophets may well have been enabled to see in the Person of Him, Whose way it was his mission to prepare, what others—with no such prophetic gift as his—came to see only at a later time. If in the Fourth Gospel, there is an absence of that progress in the apprehension of our Lord's Person which is apparent in the Synoptic record, we are not on that account precluded from trust in its historic value. The circumstances explain, to a great extent, the reason for this state of things.

Besides, as has been pointed out,[1] in the way in which St. John describes our Lord's reticence in asserting His claims and the hesitation of the people at large in accepting them,[2] there is entire agreement with the gradual, progressive nature of the Synoptic course of events. 'The main course of the Ministry is not conceived differently in the Fourth Gospel and in the Synoptics.'[3]

It is, of course, possible that such isolated outbursts of faith as that of Nathanael, such favourable reports of the attitude of the Twelve as that which obtained at Cana, may owe something of their form to the reflection of the writer;

[1] *v.* Sanday, *Criticism of the Fourth Gospel*, pp. 162 ff.

[2] vii. 3-10, x. 24, xviii. 33. [3] Sanday, *ib.* p. 165.

but the confession of the Baptist stands, for the reasons stated, on an altogether higher level of probability. There must have been something answering to such an account as that of the Fourth Gospel, to justify the extreme praise which our Lord awards him. The Evangelist tells us what that something was. The Forerunner and Prophet points to the realisation of his prophecy in Jesus of Nazareth, and proclaims that He is the Son of God.

CHAPTER XIII

INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

I. MAN, BUT MORE THAN MAN

WE have now to endeavour to interpret the meaning of the results of our study of the Person of Christ. What, for us, is their significance? What is the estimate which they oblige us to form concerning Him? What think we of Christ?

Following the historical order of His own Self-manifestation, we have first of all to deal with the fact, which has come out in our investigation, that He was a Man among men.[1] Every essential element of true human life was observable in Him, and has been recorded for us in the New Testament.[2] This appears in

[1] Cf. pp. 90-97.

[2] Cf. the Apostolic assurance (which must have been based on Christ's own account of the Temptation as we

the forefront of St. John's Gospel[1] no less than in the Synoptic record. In his First Epistle,[2] St. John says that it is a sign of Antichrist to deny that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh. In short, the Johannine writings are as clear and decided in their presentation of Christ's humanity as the Gospel of St. Mark. St. Paul is equally pronounced.[3] In the accounts of the earliest Christian speeches given by St. Luke in the Acts, the Manhood of our Lord is emphasized in a way which, considering the Pentecostal ardour of the speakers, is surprising.[4] There is the same insistence on the Manhood in the Epistle to the Hebrews,[5] while allusions to it are to be met with in other New Testament writings.

The first contact of Christ with men in His earthly life was effected by means of His human nature. Hence the intercourse of Man with man, the hourly interchange of thought, all those

have it recorded in the Gospels) that 'He was in all points tempted like as we are.'

[1] i. 38 ff. Disciples of the Baptist, on being referred by their Master to Christ, ask Him where He is staying, and go to stay with Him.

[2] 1 Jo. iv. 3. [3] Gal. iv. 4; Phil. ii. 5-9.

[4] Acts ii. 22, iv. 27, 30, vii. 56.

[5] ii. 14, 17, x. 12.

exchanges of courtesy and fellowship, of dependence and obligation, of kindness and forbearance, which make up social life. These things were possible to Him, because He lived as Man with His contemporaries.

But when we look more closely into what is told us of the Manhood of Christ, we find that our conception of it is affected by what is revealed of His Personality. The human nature of Christ is not that of a separate individual with whom Deity allied Itself. Here the Prologue of the Fourth Gospel becomes our guide. The Word of God, coming into this world and into relations of time and space, did not assume the humanity of any one particular man, but 'became flesh.' He took to Himself of the Virgin Mary, His Mother, all that belonged to the truth of Manhood, so that He became Man. But in so doing, He did not become another Person. He adopted a new nature, but retained His Personality. Otherwise His Personality would be double, involving contradiction; whereas it is for us vital to conceive of Him as One, possessing—as we shall see—the nature of the Godhead and that of Man. And it is because of this universality, so to speak—as apart from any individuality—of His Manhood,

that what He is and what He has done in that Manhood affects all mankind. So He was able, as St. Paul says, to taste death for every man; for He was not merely one among men, but One clothed with the flesh and blood which are common to all men. He was not a Divine Person Who became a human Person. He was a Divine Person Who took another nature to His own, maintaining to the full His own original Personality.[1]

How it came to pass that two whole and perfect Natures with their separate endowments coalesced, as it were, in one Personality, must remain a mystery to us. We can observe characteristics of each as we find them recorded in the Gospels, but we cannot formulate any satisfying theory which shall reconcile them.[2]

[1] *v.* Moberly, *Atonement and Personality*, pp. 86, 96; Du Bose, *The Gospel in the Gospels*, pp. 211-13, 227, 228, 230. But cf. Moberly, *op. cit.* p. 94, and *v.* R. Seeberg, *Grundwahrheiten der Christlichen Religion*, 1903, p. 112. 'Jesus was a Man, no empty abstraction "Manhood," but an individual Man richly endowed with a mighty personal life.' The single, Divine Personality of Christ must be so held as not to conflict with our hold upon His complete and true life as Man.

[2] The history of the Monothelite controversy illustrates the tendency of the mind to effect a reconciliation which

Very early in the Church's career, it became necessary to contend for the reality of Christ's Manhood. His Deity was recognised to the full, and the power of that august conception coming upon men's minds as with the rush of an advancing tide—so new, so unheard of was it—swept away many into the error of losing their hold of the other aspect of His Person. The Manhood was, to their thinking, only in appearance; an economic provision intended to veil the Divine Christ, and so make it possible for men to hold communion with Him. It had no actual existence. Against this mutilation of the Person of our Lord, devised though it was out of a spirit of mistaken reverence, St. John utters a solemn warning.[1] It cut at the root of the Incarnation. It was fatal to Christianity as a religion. At whatever cost it must be resisted.

For, that Jesus Christ was truly Man means everything to us. As Man among men, He came within reach of human experience and within the precincts of history. He could be questioned, and His claims could be inquired into. St. John

shall simplify at the cost of truth. Cf. Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 25, 261.

[1] 2 Jo. 7.

makes the personal knowledge of Christ, which arose from such examination, the basis and ground of his message.[1]

It is the Manhood of Christ which throws a bridge between heaven and earth, spanning the gulf that had separated man from God. It makes atonement and reconciliation possible. It is the bed-rock on which Christianity rests.

In view of human failure and sinfulness, the Manhood of Christ is a Gospel of hope and promise. A perfect life has been lived on earth within the limitations of humanity. The world has seen what man can be and what he can become. If Christ has revealed God, He has no less revealed man. Until He lived on earth, it was never known to what height human nature could ascend. Since He lived on earth, all that is excellent in man is measured by reference to the standard which He has set.

More than this, He has set going in humanity a new process. Without it, His Gospel could not have been a Gospel of hope. He can enable, as well as incite, to His imitation. He is 'quickening spirit.'[2] Because of this power of

[1] 1 Jo. i. 3.

[2] *v.* J. S. Mill, *Theism* in *Three Essays on Religion.*

life and action available for man, we have the Apostolic appeals, 'Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus'; 'Be ye followers of me, as I am of Christ'; and other like calls to be up and doing.

If the tendency of thought directed on the Person of Christ in the Apostolic age was to lose sight of the reality of His Manhood, the tendency in our own day is so to emphasize the Manhood as to part with all higher conceptions of His Personality. The Man Christ Jesus is a great reality to vast numbers of devout and humble souls.[1] In many of such cases, the hold upon Him is effected through His human nature. It is the Saviour Who has learnt sympathy through suffering, for Whom their souls are craving. And this is only natural. But such a position is incomplete. If men need sympathy, they also need power; and that comes through the Manhood of Christ indeed, but not *from* the Manhood. If Christ were but Man, He could inspire by His example, instruct by His teaching,

[1] Cf. the words of Charles Kingsley: 'I could not do without the Man Christ Jesus.' This has been the feeling of many who, like Kingsley, hold closely to the Divine nature of our Lord.

reveal what Man might be, but the power to live the life thus revealed would be wanting. He could not be 'the Saviour of all men.'[1]

Do the results of our study of the New Testament representation of Christ enable us to advance upon the conception of His Manhood? Was He more than Man? We found that the predicate of Manhood does not correspond to all that may be said of Him. On the ground of His Self-revelation and of the evidence both of disciples and opponents as recorded in the Gospels, there appeared to be something in Him which transcended ordinary human nature. We also saw that this extraordinary element of His being was so bound up—as to its reported manifestations—with the incidents of His earthly life and with the matter of His teaching that, if we try to eliminate it, we have to mutilate the most authentic portions of the Synoptic records to such an extent that they become scarcely recognisable. The historic form of Christ is resolved into a phantom, which, however it may correspond to theory, has no counterpart in fact. This is at least tacitly acknowledged by the best among the exponents even of advanced criticism.

[1] 1 Tim. iv. 10.

While striving to form a representation of a merely human Christ as a necessity created by scientific criticism of the sources, they again and again betray the impression that their definition of the content of His Personality is inadequate. There is that which eludes them, a mysterious something which they characterise as transcendental, or Divine, for which they can find no place in their scheme of thought, but the existence of which they are bound to acknowledge.

For, those who take purely humanitarian views of Christ's Person seem to be conscious of an uneasy feeling that they are not dealing with all the facts of the case. We meet with admissions and reserves, which appear to others practically to yield what they require. At times, we seem to be admitted to the spectacle of a struggle going on between the conviction that Christ must be more than Man and the supposed requirements of strict historical investigation. Like Moses on Pisgah, they catch sight of a world of thought on which they may not enter. And these intuitions, breaking out into expression in spite of themselves, speak eloquently of the truth of that which *will* come out, because it is so true.

But their formal construction of the Person of our Lord is unsatisfying. A constituent element of His being remains unaccounted for. While this is the case, there is no rest for the mind.

On the other hand, those who hold the creed of Christendom maintain that they *have* a solution to offer, and that while it in no way conflicts with ascertained results of science, it does justice to those parts of the primitive Gospel tradition which the critics acknowledge, as pointing to an unexplained element in Christ's Person.

That explanation is to the effect that He was true Man, but more than Man; that, if He be compared with Prophets, Saints, religious Founders and Leaders, a difference appears, vital, profound, not easily defined, yet not to be explained away.

But no sooner is this interpretation of the Person of Christ suggested, than we are confronted with what appears to some a serious obstacle to its acceptance.

As the first Christians exalted their Founder and ascribed to Him more than human power and authority, in like manner have the adherents of other Faiths raised their Founders above the lot

of man—in some cases attributing to them Divinity. Now, if it be found that this process of deification is one of the regular stages in the history of religion, and is common to the ethnic faiths, ought it not to be taken into account in our study of Christianity, due allowance being made for it as exemplifying a well-known tendency of human thought? Nay, more than this, does it not discredit the Christian position, if in this vital matter, it be found merely to fall in line with what is observed as a common tendency of thought?

Such questions as these cannot be avoided; nor is there any need to avoid them. The comparative study of religion has, within the last fifty years, greatly widened our view of religious phenomena. We seem to be worshipping in a Temple loftier far and more ancient than we thought. Truths, which had been considered the exclusive possession of the Christian faith, are now found to have their parallels in other religions. Things which New Testament writers say of Christ were said, ages before, of Arabian and Babylonian gods and heroes, of founders of religions, of Egyptian and Babylonian kings, of Greek sages and, later, of Roman

emperors.[1] Teaching highly spiritual and penetrating, bearing, moreover, a close resemblance to recorded sayings of Christ, is to be found in the sacred books of the ancient East.

[1] Cf. Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, pp. 223, 224. Barth, *Die Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesu*, p. 259. These resemblances centre chiefly in the birth-stories and in those of death, resurrection and ascension. The tendency to attribute a divine, or at least an abnormal, origin to kings, sages and heroes, is to be met with all over the ancient East. In Egypt and in Babylon the kings were regarded as begotten by the deity. Romulus and Remus are sons of Mars. The birth of Buddha became the subject of legend. 'Phantastische Verherrlichung floss indes auch dort schon ein und wurde später immer stärker.' Hackman, *Der Ursprung des Buddhismus*, 1905, p. 9. Plato was said to be a son of Apollo. If the narratives of the birth of Christ are, in a sense, anticipated by such stories, there are also striking parallels to those of His death and resurrection. Osiris, identified with the Babylonian god Sari, is the hero of an Egyptian myth of death and resurrection. The myth of Adonis, raised to life and translated to heaven, appeared in various forms in Greece and the East. Zoroastrianism possessed a doctrine of resurrection which has been thought to have influenced Jewish belief. It should be remembered that these myths have, in most cases, been familiar to students long before the Science of the comparative study of Religion came into being; but it is only recently, and as a result of the study of that science, that they came to be applied to the elucidation of Gospel narratives. At present it may be affirmed that, however interesting and startling some of these parallels appear, there

One result of attention being called to these facts, has been to cast doubt and suspicion on the Divine origin and truth of Christianity and on

is not the slightest proof that they have had any influence on the origin of those narratives. They have had no effect upon the form, much less upon the substance, of the Gospel stories.

Cf. Grützmacher, *Die Jungfrauengeburt*, 1906, p. 32. 'Just as in respect of Buddhism and the other oriental religions, so it is here; not the slightest proof has been adduced through what means of communication, or by what bridges, the heathen Mythology could have penetrated into the exclusive Jewish-Christian circles—that it was not present with the Jews themselves has been shown above—out of which the early narratives of Matthew and Luke take their rise.' H. J. Holtzmann in the *Theolog. Literaturzeitung* for April, 25th, 1908, speaking of the origin of the phrase 'He rose again the third day,' which, as he says, 'was taken over by Paul as an assured element of early Christian tradition,' declines to admit 'such explanations as Old Testament examples, Jonah, Hosea vi. 2, 2 Kings xx. 5 (the two last not being mentioned in early Christian writings) or as the legends of Attis, Adonis, Osiris, etc.' Cf. v. Dobschütz, *Ostern und Pfingsten*, 1903, pp. 12, 13. Pfleiderer, *Die Entstehung des Christentums*, pp. 129 ff., after mentioning parallels between the Christian Sacraments and certain mystical rites and beliefs of the cult of Mithras, which was so widely spread over the Roman Empire at the beginning of the Christian era, suggests that St. Paul was not unaffected by its influence. The desire for purity and for personal union with God, which Mithraism discloses, would have no doubt called forth the sympathy and respect

the unique character of its Founder. The resemblances which have been traced, are thought by some to prove that the transcendental features in the Person of Christ, to which the Gospels bear witness, are but fresh instances of old-world myth-building. In other words, the presence of certain coincidences between the Christ of the Gospels and the god or hero of other religions, places the One on the same plane of authority as the rest, and shows that if the fancy of the devotee has been at work in one case, it is probable that it has been equally active in the other.

There would be force in this argument if it covered the whole ground. But if there are resemblances, there are also differences, profound and vital, in what has come down to us of the records of Christ and other Masters.[1] More than

of the Apostle ; but Pfleiderer is not borne out by the facts of the case, when he says that 'the mystical doctrine of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, which is peculiar to St. Paul, cannot be accounted for by the older tradition of the Church.' There was no such distinction between Pauline and primitive teaching as to lead us to suppose that the Apostle had recourse to such a source of doctrine as that which Pfleiderer suggests. *v. infrà*, pp. 312 ff.

[1] Grützmacher has shown, *Die Jungfrauengeburt*, pp. 28 ff., that the Babylonian, Buddhist and other supposed

this, the resemblances admit of explanation and, as we shall see, go to confirm the Christian position; while the differences require us to acknowledge that, in the case of the Founder of Christianity, influences have been at work which are wanting in the case of other religious Leaders.

To take the first point—that the resemblances between the records of Christ and those of other Heroes of religion tend to confirm the Christian position. The argument may be stated thus: All world-movements are prepared for. They are not sprung suddenly upon mankind. Nor are they isolated events, bearing no relation to other world-phenomena. They are interwoven with

antecedents of the Gospel account of the Virgin birth of Christ, contain elements which differ fundamentally from it. There is a certain resemblance, which suffices to establish the conviction that the thought of a Divine interposition in human history forms a widely held possession of the human mind: but the differences between the sacred and the pagan stories are profound, and exclude the possibility that the former are in any way indebted to the latter.

Cf. *ib.* p. 33. 'All that they have in common is the conception which appears on both sides, that a great Personality, who is marvellous and unique in the sphere of religion, must have also had a wonderful origin. But the more frequently a thought crops up quite independently, the more probable it becomes that it expresses something which is necessary and which tends to be realised.'

them and there is action and re-action. The greatest of all world-events is the entrance into it of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, in visible form. According to the nature of things, such an event could not come about with the suddenness and unexpectedness of a bolt from a clear sky. It must have its points of contact with other phenomena and, once happening, it is bound to make history and to mould the future. If, then, we find—as we do—that certain principles of the Christian Faith, such as atonement, reconciliation and union with God, are to be met with in other creeds, outside of what is generally admitted to be the preparatory religion of Judaism; if, too, a superhuman or Divine character is assigned to their Founders or Leaders, reminding us of what the New Testament attributes to Christ, we are justified in regarding these resemblances as so much external evidence to the truth of Christianity.

For, the solidarity of the human race makes it antecedently probable that elemental ideas would be widely held. If a conception closely analogous to a Christian conception is found to be distributed over large portions of the human race before the rise of Christianity, that fact of itself lends a large measure of probability to the Divine truth

of the conception, as it presents itself in the Gospel record. In other words, my belief in the religion of Jesus Christ is strengthened, when I find it to contain principles and ideas common to the best thought of the ancient world, and to possess, among its elemental facts, resemblances to what is told of the history of earlier faiths. I am led to see the hand of God in these points of contact and to conclude that human reason, illumined by the 'Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world,'[1] has been guided towards the possession of truths which, however haltingly and fallibly expressed, are yet in substance identical with those that underlie the religion of Christ. For purity and precision of definition, for accuracy of application, I go to the religion which is embodied in the New Testament; but I am not confined to it, when I try to investigate the origin and significance of fundamental religious beliefs. In the light of this wider outlook, I recognise with Tertullian[2] that 'the soul of man is by nature Christian,' and that God has never left Himself without witness

[1] Jo. i. 9.

[2] 'O testimonium animae naturaliter Christianae.' *Apol.* c. xvii.

to those facts and truths, which find their fullest and truest expression in the religion of Jesus Christ.

But, whatever their points of likeness or of contrast with the Gospel narrative, it has yet to be shown how religious and official myths could have been adopted by the Evangelists and become part of the Christian Faith. The sturdy resistance of Judaism to the intrusion of alien ideas and beliefs, continued as it was through so many centuries, would not have suddenly ceased with the advent of Christianity. The Jewish-Christian community would have been as much opposed to such an importation, as was the ancient Jewish Church. If the new Gentile adherents of Christianity are credited with effecting the change, we have only to reply that the time required for such a process is wholly wanting. The Life of Christ and its incorporation into the Gospel records are too close together for such a fusion to take place.[1] Besides, there is no trace of any such attempt being made. The slightest sign of it would have roused the hostility of the Jewish element and, if persevered in, would

[1] *v.* Zenos in *Dict. of Christ and the Gospels*,' ii., Art. 'Myth.'

have split the Church into two rival factions. In whatever way we may try to account for certain elements in the Gospel representation of our Lord, we can be sure that the transference of pagan myth to Christian soil has had no hand in the process.

On the whole, it may be said that the comparative study of Religion has done nothing to discredit, but has rather confirmed, the truth of the high conception of the Person of our Lord to which the Gospel narrative bears witness.

CHAPTER XIV

INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

II. JESUS CHRIST IS GOD

It will be found impossible to rest content with the position now reached—that Christ is Man, but something more than Man. Such an interpretation of the results of our investigation is clearly provisional. A man, who is at the same time more than man, would be not merely abnormal. If we could give no further account of him, he would appear to be a portent, a being who could only repel instead of attracting. He could never take the place in the hearts of men which Christ has taken. Human nature instinctively shrinks from anything which, while human in form and appearance, possesses characteristics which belie or traverse the truth of humanity. We have therefore to account for our Lord's possession of qualities to which human nature, as we know

it, can lay no claim. We have to explain those elements of His being which, as we found, on His own showing as well as on that of His contemporaries, exceeded the limitations of normal manhood.[1]

The explanation of a manhood carried to a point of extreme development, the result of close and unimpeded communion with God, will not suffice. Such a theory would account for certain of the phenomena which have come out in our investigation. Some miracles of healing, certain elements of His teaching, could be explained in this way. The power of a pure soul, which has exposed itself to the mind and will of God, is very great to influence others. In certain directions we can hardly assign limits to its action. But here, a whole range of characteristics which, as we have seen, stand on sure evidence, remains to be accounted for. No conceivable stage of development on the lines of human nature will explain them. The authority and sureness of His teaching, the knowledge God-ward and man-ward on which it was based, His power over the forces of the natural world, His

[1] v. Seeberg, *Grundwahrheiten der christlichen Religion*, p. 110.

sinlessness, His claim, based on Self-knowledge, to be the Messiah and the Final Arbiter of the destiny of all mankind—on all these points we have the testimony of Christ Himself, embodied in the most authentic portions of the Gospel records. They cannot be evaded, nor their significance explained away. What light do they throw upon His Personality?

There is no middle course to be adopted. If Christ manifests in His Person qualities which exceed the capacity of human nature, He must be more than man. But being more than man, there is no halting-place in our search for Him on this side of Divinity. Unless we are prepared to admit a being half-human, half-divine—untrue to the nature alike of God and man—we dare not pause. We must think of Him as God.

And this—in view of our examination of the primitive sources—we are justified in doing. His definite and persistent claim of an unique relation to the Father, coupled with His assertion of exclusive knowledge of God, gives us the clue which we require.

It is true that, in the Synoptic Gospels, our Lord nowhere asserts His Divinity in so many words. He does not say, 'I am God,' nor does

He use the expression, 'I am the Son of God.'[1] He would do or say nothing to weaken men's hold on the unity of the Godhead—the central article of the Hebrews' Faith, that precious possession which it was their mission to preserve for the world.[2] Any apparent competition with that truth He consistently avoided. At the risk of His true Personality being under-estimated and mistaken, He leaves It to be interpreted to reflective minds by the Holy Spirit, certain that in time He will be understood. Hence, what we may think His strange reluctance to assert the truth of His Being; a reluctance which we found displayed in the question of His Messiahship. Besides, the deepest truths hardly admit of categorical expression.[3] Rather, they are to

[1] But He assented to the designation when it was applied to Him; Mk. xiv. 62, Matt. xxvi. 64, Lu. xxii. 70. 'Jesus has never applied to Himself the designation "the Son of God," but He has given it clearly to be understood that He is not merely "a" but "the" Son of God.' Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, p. 230. His appropriation of the term in the Gospel of St. John is frequent. *v.* v. 25, ix. 35, x. 36, xi. 4.

[2] Cf. *suprà*, p. 57.

[3] There is a passage in Faut's *Christologie seit Schleiermacher*, p. 98, which bears upon this point. He says, 'Logical thought seems to leave us nothing but the

be learned in patience and reflection. They must grow upon the mind. They are not at the mercy of a phrase: they cannot be contained in a formula. Our Lord was content to leave to subsequent thought the full appreciation of His Person and His claims.

But, if He nowhere proclaims His Divinity in categorical terms, if He leaves it to be concluded from His admissions rather than from direct statements, we are left in no uncertainty as to His own mind on the subject, or as to that of His contemporary followers.

As we have seen, Christ was profoundly

alternative :—either Jesus is God—then Monotheism, nay the very Gospel itself, is endangered ; or Monotheism must prevail throughout—then Jesus can be but ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος. Only it is not *the Logic of concepts, but the Logic of religious facts*, which is to determine the matter. It shows this dilemma to be false ; rather it maintains that our faith in God the Father rests on faith in Jesus as the perfect revelation of God.' But it should be observed that the dilemma is only a false one if Monotheism is rightly understood. The ascription of Divinity to Christ is in no way fatal to the Monotheistic idea, *v. infrà*, pp. 335 ff. It is the inference in each of the alternatives that is wrong. Cf. Fairbairn, *Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 399, 'God is a unity, but He is not a simplicity, and so can be more truly described in the terms of ethical and concrete than of metaphysical and abstract existence.'

conscious of standing in an unique relation to God. That relation found expression in Sonship, and its characteristic sphere of exercise was a state of complete mutual understanding and mutual knowledge existing between the Father and the Son.[1] This result of the study of the most authentic sources, though often assailed, remains as one of the foundations of our knowledge of Christ's Person.

But we have to consider the question whether the Sonship of Christ, as made known to us in the Gospels, implies an eternal relationship—and

[1] Matt. xi. 25-27, *v. suprà*, pp. 161 ff. Cf. Loisy, *L'Évangile et l'Église*, p. 78: 'Père et Fils ne sont pas ici des termes purement religieux, mais déjà des termes métaphysiques, théologiques, et la spéculation dogmatique a pu s'en emparer sans en modifier beaucoup le sens'; a sufficient reply to such a statement as that of Pfleiderer, *Die Entstehung des Christentums*, p. 94, 'Er stellte sich somit in eine Reihe mit den andern Menschen . . . er fühlte sich als Sohn Gottes in keinem anderen Sinne als in dem sittlich-religiösen. . . . Auch wo ihm von anderen der Name "Sohn Gottes" in besonderem Sinne beigelegt wurde . . . ist das Wort in den älteren Evangelien allemal nur eine andere Bezeichnung für Messias ohne einen transzendenten oder metaphysischen Sinn einzuschliessen.' Cf. Loisy, *ib.* p. 79. 'La parole évangelique a donc une tout autre portée qu'il ne faudrait pour la thèse de la filiation acquise à Jésus, dans le temps, par la connaissance du Père.'

therefore identity of being with God—Divinity; or whether, being begun in time, it is merely an economic relationship, existing for the accomplishment of a certain purpose, but not a necessary connection, or one that belongs to the essence of the Divine Nature.

If we take the evidence of the Synoptic Gospels discussed above, as to our Lord's filial consciousness, His timeless knowledge of the Father, His claim to exercise the exclusively Divine office of Judge, the peculiar relation in which He professes to stand with regard to humanity as a whole; we seem forced to conclude that He Who could so feel and speak, must, unless He is to be charged with hallucination, possess qualities which belong to God alone. If there is but one passage which implies pre-existence in the Synoptic record of our Lord's sayings (St. Matt. xi. 27 and parallels), yet, as far as it goes, it suffices to give us a completely attested foundation for that conception. He did not become the Son of God at His Birth as Jesus of Nazareth, nor when His Sonship was, for men, clearly defined at His Resurrection.[1] The completeness and the timeless character of

[1] Rom. i. 4.

His knowledge of the Father point to a Sonship which had no beginning in time.[1] It is true that the Synoptic Gospels do not go on to draw the inference which their narratives suggest; and if we had no other source of information, we might hesitate to arrive at such a conclusion. The edifice might seem too vast to stand on so narrow a foundation. But our interpretation of the passage is borne out by the general Synoptic view of Christ's Person, and by the conception known to have been formed of Him in the Apostolic circle. If the Synoptic Gospels abstain from theologising and, in accordance with their scope and purpose, leave the inferences which they justify to be drawn by others,[2] we are at no loss to supply the omission.

And because they contain the premises required for such inferences, we can feel assured that, in having recourse to other evidence, we are not

[1] Cf. Fairbairn, *Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 393. 'To Christ, God does not become Father—He is Father just as He is God; and He Himself does not become Son—He is Son, and were He not Son He would not be.'

[2] Cf. Fairbairn, *op. cit.* p. 346. 'They (the Evangelists) were content to speak as witnesses, leaving the task of conciliation to those who felt it to be necessary.'

departing from our intention to base the argument for the transcendental character of Christ's Person mainly on the evidence of the Synoptic Gospels. For explicit unfolding of what these premises contain, we are free to go to the Fourth Gospel, to St. Paul and to the writer to the Hebrews. They give us only what is implied in the natural sense of the Synoptic references.

The Christ of the Fourth Gospel is undoubtedly described as One Who existed before His Incarnation. He is the Λόγος of the Prologue, Who 'in the beginning was with God.'[1] His saying, 'Before Abraham was, I am,' implies pre-existence. Its historical value is guaranteed for us by its connection with the violent outburst on the part of the Jews, which it is plainly said to have occasioned; an incident which would have sunk deeply into the memory of an eye-witness, and one which required some remarkable utterance or act of our Lord to account for it.[2] 'He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father.' 'He that seeth Me, seeth Him that

[1] Cf. Fairbairn, *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, p. 455. Justin Martyr (*Apol.* ii. 6) identifies the Λόγος with the Son.

[2] Jo. viii. 58, 59.

sent Me.' 'I and My Father are One' (ἕν):[1] such sayings as these are impossible in the mouth of a Jew, who believed himself to be merely a man among men. Nay, more, they could not have been imputed to such an one by the Evangelist, who among all the Gospel writers was most strenuous in asserting the true humanity of Christ,[2] if he had not the surest

[1] Jo. xiv. 9, xii. 45, x. 30. 'It seems clear that the unity here spoken of cannot fall short of unity of essence.' Westcott in Jo. x. 30. 'Unum dicit neutrali verbo, quod non pertinet ad singularitatem, sed ad unitatem. . . . Unum sumus dicens ego et pater, ostendit duos esse quos aequat et jungit.' Tertull. *Adv. Prax.* xxii. 'In the mind of Jesus, Father and Son were conceived as forming a unity over against man. The relation the Father had to Him He had to no other; the relation He had to the Father no other person had. They two were so related that each was known only to the other, and could therefore only by and through the other be made known. The unity was so real that to see the Son was to see the Father, to know the Father was to know the Son. Hence, while Jesus conceived Father and Son as distinct from each other, He also conceived them as having a common being.' Fairbairn, *Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 392.

[2] 'The thing he (St. John) most fears is the denial that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh.' Fairbairn, *op. cit.* p. 455. It is noticeable that the last of these three passages, St. John x. 30, is closely bound up with a remarkable historical incident. The Jews take up stones

warrant for so doing. Pre-existence and Divinity are each taught by the Evangelist in the statement, 'God only begotten Which is in the bosom of the Father,'[1] where the truth of the Sonship of Christ is as plainly conveyed by the reading *μονογενὴς Θεός* as by the common reading *μονογενὴς υἱός*. The adjective fixes the interpretation.

St. John's conception of the Person of Christ is not to be put into opposition to the Synoptic view, as so many have endeavoured to do. The same spirit breathes in each. What is implied in the Synoptic narrative becomes explicit in the Fourth Gospel, and in so doing is in entire harmony with the mind of the Apostolic Church. The speeches of St. Peter in the Acts, the spirit of which—if not the *ipsissima verba*—is faithfully

to cast at Him on the ground that He had spoken blasphemy.

[1] Jo. i. 18. Westcott and Hort. *v.* Hort, *Two Dissertations*, in I. 'On Μονογενὴς Θεός in Scripture and Tradition.' He says, p. 1, 'The result, I think it will be found, is to show that *μονογενὴς Θεός* should be accepted in place of the received reading *ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός*, alike on grounds of documentary evidence, of probabilities of transcription, and of intrinsic fitness.' Hort's views are approved of by Sanday in Hastings' *D.B.* iv. p. 576, by B. Weiss, and by Harnack in *Theol. Literaturzeit.* for 1876, pp. 541 ff.

reported by St. Luke,[1] show the Apostle to be under the influence of the Resurrection. That tremendous experience colours his method of expression, and he speaks as if the transcendence of Christ dated from it. But the expressions which He applies to the risen One can only be fully interpreted by reference to ideas, which we have found to be common both to the Synoptic writers and to St. John: 'both Lord and Christ,' 'A Prince and a Saviour,' 'the Giver of the Holy Spirit.' There is nothing incongruous in these titles, when we compare them with what we find in the Gospels. We are not transported into another atmosphere, when we try to enter

[1] 'We find the style of the author, but the matter of the authority,' Headlam in Hastings' *D.B.* i. p. 33. The speeches 'are too lifelike, real, varied and adapted to their circumstances to be mere unsubstantial, rhetorical exercises.' *Ib.* p. 34. It is significant to hear a critic like A. Meyer saying of the Acts, 'its trustworthiness is at the present day increasingly winning respect.' *Wer hat das Christentum begründet, Jesus oder Paulus?* 1907, p. 10. Harnack draws attention to the fact that the lexical and stylistic agreement of the first half of the Acts with the second half (the 'We' section) is much greater than the disagreement between them. This makes strongly for the unity of the authorship of the entire book and for its great historical importance. *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, iii. *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 1908, p. 131.

into the thought of the Pentecostal Church. If the speeches of St. Peter are dominated by the overmastering effect of the Resurrection, they are full of the conviction that the crucified and risen One is the Messiah of prophecy, and that this fact is guaranteed by His rising again. We are carried back into a primitive stage of thought,[1] which is evidence of the fact that St. Luke's narrative is based on original sources of information. There is greater affinity with the Synoptic Gospels and their standpoint than with the position of St. Paul in his Epistles or St. John. But an examination of the titles applied

[1] Schmiedel (*Encycl. Bibl.* i. p. 48) says that the Christology of the speeches of St. Peter is important (historically) in the highest degree, and that it is hardly possible to doubt that it came from a primitive source. In *Lukas, der Arzt*, pp. 88, 93, Harnack says of the writer, 'the chief point in his picture . . . sustains historical truth.' 'He has personally consorted with the first Christians.' J. Weiss in Hastings' *Dict. of Christ and the Gospels*, i. p. 26, says: 'These chapters are a true representation of the spirit of early Jewish Christianity. Very specially is this the case with the Christology.' Harnack, *Das Christenthum und die Geschichte*, 1896, p. 16, remarks: 'Besides the four written Gospels, we possess a fifth, unwritten, and in many respects it speaks more clearly and impressively than the other four—I refer to the combined testimony of the primitive Christian Community.'

in the early chapters to our Lord shows that, if the statement of the Christology is in close accordance with that of the Synoptic Gospels, and bears all the marks of the period to which it refers, like the Synoptic narrative it is in harmony with the more developed conceptions of St. Paul and of the Fourth Gospel.[1]

To St. Peter, the risen Saviour is 'the Prince of Life.' 'It is the heavenly Lord that permeates the life of His Church and His Apostles, the Κύριος on whom Christians believe. This divine name is very often applied in the Acts to God, but not infrequently also to Christ.'[2] 'This same Jesus, Whom ye crucified, hath God made both Lord and Christ.' It was the Resurrection which brought out into the light of day the implicit Lordship and Messiahship of Jesus the Crucified. To use the language of St. Paul, it 'defined' Him to be the Son of God in

[1] Although 'Son of God' is not employed in the early chapters of Acts, we find Παῖς (iii. 13, 26; iv. 27, 30). Dalman has shown that Παῖς is occasionally used to express 'Son' or 'Child,' *e.g.* in *Wisd.* ii. 13, xii. 20, also in the *Didachê*, ix. 2, 3, x. 2, and in Clem. Rom. c. lix. 2. 'Son,' rather than 'Servant' may therefore be the true meaning of Παῖς in Acts. Cf. Lepin, *Jésus, Messie et Fils de Dieu*, p. 341.

[2] J. Weiss, *ib.*

power.[1] It did not constitute Him such. The way in which the Resurrection was regarded as an epoch-making event, in the experience of Jesus Himself and of His disciples, by no means implies that the earliest Christology after Pentecost is formed on the supposition that He became the Son of God, the Lord, only at His Resurrection.[2] The title 'Lord,' applied, as Weiss says, both to God and to Christ in the Acts,

[1] Acts ii. 36. Rom. i. 4. 'This' says J. Weiss (*ib.* p. 27) of Acts ii. 36, 'is the principal extant proof passage for the earliest Christology.'

[2] St. Paul (Acts xiii. 33) applies the words of Ps. ii. 7, 'Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee,' to the Resurrection. But, as we see from passages in his Epistles (Col. i. 18, Phil. ii. 5, 6, Col. ii. 9, etc.), the Resurrection was not, in his view, the cause or beginning of Christ's Divine Sonship. Nor must St. Peter be understood to date Christ's Divinity from His Resurrection, because he begins his Sermon at Pentecost with allusions to the Manhood, before speaking of the exaltation, of our Lord. He was bound to identify the exalted Lord with Jesus of Nazareth. (*v.* Lepin, *Jésus, Messie et Fils de Dieu*, p. 329.) In St. Stephen's vision of Christ in glory, he applies to Him the title, 'Son of Man,' for the appearance and form of Man were there; but he addresses Him in terms implying Divinity, 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit,' as Christ Himself had resigned His own spirit into the hands of God the Father. It is untrue to the evidence to say, 'Für die jüdische Urgemeinde aber war Jesus noch ein mensch-

suffices to show that the Bearer of that divine Name, could not, in the estimation of those who applied it to Him as to God, have had His beginning in time. In the speeches of the early chapters of Acts, He is spoken of as a Divine Being.

When we pass from the primitive Apostolic Community to St. Paul, we find ourselves in the same atmosphere: but there is greater fulness and clearness of definition. The fact that a favourite idea of some critics is to attribute to St. Paul the Deification of Christ[1] is, however untrue to his-

licher Messias.' (A. Meyer, *Was uns Jesus heute ist*, 1907, p. 18.) In his speech in the house of Cornelius, St. Peter says, '. . . Jesus Christ, He is Lord of all.' 'It is He which was ordained to be the Judge of quick and dead.' Belief in Him secures remission of sins. (Acts x. 36, 42, 43.) Thus, 'the Christ of the first days of the Church is the Son of God, sharing in the powers and privileges of God, the Christ all Divine.' Lepin, *op. cit.* p. 341. Cf. O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu*, p. 59. 'They (the miracle narratives of St. Mark) show clearly enough that, even in the circles which specially preserved historical reminiscences of the Life of Jesus, His Form exceeded all standards of human measurement at an early date: this estimate can only have been based on the original impression of Jesus.'

[1] A. Meyer, *Wer hat das Christentum begründet, Jesus oder Paulus*, p. 95. 'Versteht man unter Christentum den

tory, a witness to the Apostle's estimate of His Divinity. St. Paul undoubtedly regarded Christ as partaking of the Divine nature; but he was not the first to form that conception. The Synoptic Gospels, as we have seen, inform us, in passages of indisputable authenticity, that our Lord in His own and in His disciples' belief and consciousness was a Divine Being. St. Paul, on becoming an adherent in place of a persecutor of Christianity, succeeded to that belief. He in no

Glauben an Christus als den himmlischen Gottessohn, der nicht zur irdischen Menschheit gehörte, sondern in göttlicher Ebenbildlichkeit und Herrlichkeit lebte, der vom Himmel auf die Erde herabkam, in die Menschheit einging und ihre Gestalt annahm, um ihre Sünde mit seinem Blute am Kreuz zu sühnen, der dann vom Tode erweckt und als der Herr der Seinen zur Rechten Gottes erhöht wurde, . . . der einst als Weltrichter mit den Wolken des Himmels kommen . . . dann hat hauptsächlich Paulus—und nicht Jesus ein solches Christentum begründet.' Meyer goes on to admit that some at least of these representations are not the creation of St. Paul, or applied to Christ by him for the first time. He admits that the first disciples regarded Jesus as Messiah and His death as an offering for the sins of the people; but if Christianity is belief in 'a heavenly Son of God,' then, he considers St. Paul—not Christ—as the originator of it. How untrue this is to the evidence of the oldest Gospel sources can be seen by reference to what has been said above of the nature of that evidence. If Meyer goes on to say that, though St. Paul was instrumental

way originated it. It is among the most paradoxical of modern critical positions, to regard him as more responsible than Christ Himself for the Christian Religion. His influence in widening the conception of the Church, in rescuing it from the confining and conservative ideas of Judaism, in bringing it into touch with Greek thought and life, in setting forward its claim to be nothing less than a world-religion, was of incalculable value. But in so doing he was merely

in extending the range and scope of Christianity, Christ was after all its real Founder, yet he admits this only in the sense of a limited and defective Christianity—a religion unknown to Gospels and Epistles alike. Wrede, *Paulus*, 1905, p. 96, speaks of St. Paul's doctrine of Christ as new, 'weil bei Paulus Ursprung und Wesen Christi himmlisch geworden ist.' Cf. p. 101. 'Er (Paulus) ist der erste Christliche Theologe gewesen und hat durch seine Theologie die entstehende Religion entscheidend umgewandelt.' Jülicher, *Paulus und Jesus*, 1907, p. 68, in answer to the question 'ist wirklich Paulus der zweite Stifter der Christlichen Religion?' replies that, if by this expression is meant the Christian Church, 'Paul in no sense founded it, for it already existed a good while before he entered it,' and he concludes, 'Christendom has much for which to thank St. Paul, but not for its existence. For that, it is indebted to One greater, Jesus' (p. 72). *v.* Sanday, Art. 'Paul' in *Dict. of Christ*, ii. 'It would be an utter mistake to suppose that St. Paul's teaching as to the Person of Christ was a new invention of his own.'

carrying out Christ's own ideas and wishes. He was importing nothing new.[1] The Preacher of the Sermon on the Mount could aim at nothing

[1] Cf. J. Kaftan, *Jesus und Paulus*, 1906, p. 58. 'The Gospel of Jesus and the preaching of Paul are in close internal connection; they move in the same sphere of fundamental thought.' Harnack, *Das Wesen des Christentums*, 1905 Aufl. p. 113. 'Paul has converted the Gospel into an universal Religion without destroying its essential and vital characteristics . . . and has laid the foundation for the Church as a whole.' Pfleiderer, *Die Entstehung des Christentums*, p. 127. 'From this danger (*i.e.* of Christianity being involved in the downfall of the Jewish nation) the life-work of Jesus was saved by Paul. Converted from a passionate persecutor to an adherent of the Faith of Christ, he came to understand what was new and characteristic in the Faith more profoundly than the first disciples and, with a greater decision than they had shown, he set it free from the legal religion of Judaism and raised it to the position of an independent Religion for Mankind.' Faut, *Die Christologie seit Schleiermacher*, p. 82. 'If, in the primitive community, faith in Jesus is already an essential, *the* essential element of the new Religion, we have no right to make Paul answerable for converting the Religion of Jesus into faith in Jesus. Paul has neither adulterated (verfälscht) nor has he founded the Christian Religion. But it is correct to say that, by means of his theological culture, he built more widely on the foundation of Christology which had been already laid.' Cf. Bousset, *Gottesglaube*, 1908, p. 48. 'The Christian belief in God is, in a very special sense of the word, belief in Redemption. It was not Paul who was the creator of this belief. It comes out clearly in the Gospel.'

less. If the religion of Christ, as we find it outlined in our oldest sources, makes any claim on men's allegiance, that claim is paramount and absolute, and it is the claim of One Who speaks with the authority of God. St. Paul has made no advance upon this position. But he saw more clearly, and perhaps earlier than other Apostles, the real significance of Christ's claim, and the extent of its requirements.

It will suffice to refer to two or three passages in which his meaning is unmistakable. In Phil. ii. 5, 6, he speaks of Christ as being 'in the form of God,'[1] yet not considering His (actual) equality with God a thing to be ambitiously displayed or taken advantage of, but divesting Himself (of His glory). Here is plainly implied our Lord's Divinity and His Pre-existence. This was how St. Paul regarded His Divine condition, before the Incarnation, when 'He took upon Him the form of a servant and became in the likeness of men.' The pre-existent state of our

[1] ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων. 'The possession of the μορφή involves participation in the οὐσία also: for μορφή implies not the external accidents but the essential attributes.' Lightfoot *in loc.*

Lord is constantly before the Apostle's mind when he treats of His earthly life and work.[1]

In Coloss. i. 15, Christ is the Image of the unseen God,[2] representing and manifesting Him.[3] He is the First-born of all Creation,[4] the Maker and Sustainer of all created things, before all and above all. This passage may well have been in the mind of the Fourth Evangelist, when writing the Prologue to his Gospel.[5] It expresses, as perhaps no other passage does, the cosmical relations of the Eternal Son, His immanence in

[1] As Sanday (Hastings' *D.B.* iv. p. 577) and Lepin (*Jésus, Messie et Fils de Dieu*, pp. 343, 4) point out, in Rom. viii. 3, 32, the Son existed *before* He was 'sent' forth into the world for our salvation.

[2] *v.* Lightfoot *in loc.* Inge, *Personal Idealism*, p. 48.

[3] Cf. 2 Cor. iv. 4. Ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ.

[4] Πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως. Πρωτότοκος according to Lightfoot (*in loc.*) implies priority to all creation, the absolute Pre-existence of the Son. On Jewish ideas of pre-existence see Baldensperger, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, p. 148; Inge, *Personal Idealism*, p. 51. Dalman (*Die Worte Jesu*, p. 107), allows that there was a heavenly Pre-existence of the Messiah taught in *Ethiop. Enoch.* He comes down from heaven. Dalman rejects *Ethiop. Enoch*, xlviii. 6, which teaches existence before the worlds, but he gives no reason.

[5] 'The doctrine of the prologue is, so far as I can see, identical with that of St. Paul.' Inge, *op. cit.* p. 52.

the world which He made, but which, at the same time, He transcends. The steps by which St. Paul attained to this conception cannot be traced with any certainty. Once attained, it is found to be so satisfying to the philosophic and the religious sense alike, that it must always exercise a profound influence upon thought.

Closely allied to Pauline Christology is the passage Hebr. i. 1-5. The Son is here the instrument of God in Creation,[1] 'the effulgence' or 'raying forth of His glory,'[2] 'the expression of His essence,'[3] 'bearing along all things by the word of His power.' Here we have at once subordination, and identity of being. The Father is always Father, the Son is always Son. To that extent there must always be subordination. But in truth and essence of being there is no distinction to be found.[4]

[1] Cf. 1 Cor. viii. 6. 'God the Father from Whom (ἐξ οὗ) are all things—one Lord Jesus Christ, by Whom (δι' οὗ) are all things.' *v.* John i. 3.

[2] Vulg. 'Splendor gloriae.' Cf. Nicene Creed, 'Light of Light.'

[3] Westcott, *in loc.* Cf. Clem. Rom. i. 33.

[4] This passage contains expressions peculiar to the writer. He brings fresh colours to portray the Divine Figure, but he works in the same outline. There is nothing contradicting

When we turn to the Book of Revelation, we are brought face to face with the sublime Figure of the exalted Christ. He has passed through death and is 'alive for evermore.' We are reminded of His own Self-imposed designation in the Gospels. He is 'One like a Son of Man.'[1] He is human still, but the humanity is transfigured and glorified. We see it in its perfection, The ascended Christ is the Christ of the Transfiguration and of the Forty Days, but now He is on the Throne of God.[2] Divine honours and prerogatives are ascribed to Him. He receives the worship of the host of heaven. He is called 'the Son of God,' 'the Word of God,'

the conception obtainable from the Synoptics and St. Paul and St. John. The subject is vast and it is viewed from fresh aspects and under new light. An enrichment of the conception formed of the Person of our Lord was to be expected after His departure. The Holy Spirit was 'to show' the things of Christ: but the point for which we contend is, that it is the same Christ Who was known to the first witnesses. The Stiller of the storm in Petrine Mark and the Upholder of all things in Hebr. i. 3, are not different persons, nor do they move on different planes. It was natural for writers coming from various schools of thought—Jewish and Hellenic—to contribute what was peculiar to those schools to the increasing sum of Christology.

[1] i. 18, 13; xiv. 14. [2] xxii. 1, 3.

'the Prince of the Kings of the earth,' the Alpha and the Omega.[1] Passages in the Old Testament which relate to God are without hesitation applied to Christ. Yet the writer is careful to identify the ascended Christ with the Christ of the humiliation. 'The Lamb' is a title frequently applied to Him, and it becomes a standing memorial of the atoning suffering of the Cross. Thus, 'the Christ of the Apocalypse is the Christ of the Gospels, but a change has passed over Him which is beyond words.'[2] The conception of the risen and ascended Lord is enriched by the vision of His glorified existence, which is imparted to the Seer: but it is the same Lord to Whom the other New Testament writers bear their witness, and the identification is emphasized by the frequent use of the name Jesus,[3] recalling Bethlehem and Nazareth, and all the Life of love and sacrifice which culminated in the Cross.

Thus we have a chain of evidence from Apostolic writers—St. John, St. Paul, the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews—which, taking up the

[1] v. 11ff.; ii. 18; xix. 13; i. 5; xxii. 13.

[2] Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*, pp. clvii, clviii, clv.

[3] i. 1, 2, 5, 9; xvii. 6; xxii. 20, 21.

line of thought already existing in the primitive community, gave it fresh and amplified expression, but never exceeded its content. The Self-consciousness of Christ and its reflection in the minds of His first disciples, as delivered to us by the Synoptic record, contain the doctrine of the Son, as we have it illustrated in the writers just cited. Speaking of the witness which our Lord bears to Himself in the Fourth Gospel, Barth remarks, 'We have the same Jesus presented to us as in the Synoptic Writers.'[1]

[1] *Die Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesu*, p. 254. 'We have the same Jesus before us as in the Synoptics; but John turns away from the mass of particulars in His historical life, in order to concentrate attention on its main point—the mystery of the Life of Jesus.' I find the view taken above confirmed by Illingworth, who in his recent work, *The Doctrine of the Trinity* (Nov. 1907), warns us against the wrong use of the term development in connection with the formulation of the Christian Faith, *e.g.* 'a development in which alien elements gradually filtered into and became incorporated with primitive Christianity till they had altered it past all recognition' (p. 70). As he says, 'The existence of the Trinity and the significance of His own Advent had, as we believe, been taught by Christ Himself. And no addition was made to this revelation, nor could, as far as we can conceive, be made by any human interpreter' (p. 91). 'Thus the teaching of St. Paul and St. John constitutes a new development of Christian doctrine, in the sense of being an inspired

We have now to consider the conclusion to which we are led by the evidence which we have been reviewing. Messiah, Son of Man, Son of God, the Logos, Judge of quick and dead. All these terms are found to be applied to Jesus of Nazareth, and rest upon evidence of varying strength. We have seen that, according to the admissions of advanced criticism, the undisputed

explanation of what was implicit, *but never an addition to what was implicit in the teaching of Christ Himself'* (p. 101. The italics are our own). 'We find a development of doctrine, or teaching, in the sense of a new mode of stating the old truth ; but not in the sense of the invention or proclamation of any new truth ; and though this distinction may sound subtle it is profoundly real' (p. 121). 'Within the bounds of Scripture itself we believe St. Paul and St. John to do no more than explain with inspired insight the meaning of what Jesus Christ had Himself revealed through His Personality and in His teaching, by His words and work' (p. 208). Cf. Faut, *Die Christologie seit Schleiermacher*, p. 84. 'What the Gospel of John says of Jesus is, in the last resort, nothing but what was contained in the original Gospel itself. He was for His disciples, in very deed, "The Way, the Truth, and the Life"; through Him alone they came to the Father. In Him they saw "the glory of God, full of Grace and Truth." In Him they saw the Father.' Kühl, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, p. 36. 'The peculiarity of the Fourth Gospel in relation to the Synoptics does not lie in the character of the Self-witness of Jesus. If we except the one thought of Pre-existence . . . the

parts of the Synoptic tradition bear witness to the existence in the Person of Christ of a transcendental element, of a relation to God which is quite different from that of ordinary men.

It is allowed by the best critical scholars that Jesus was conscious of standing to God in the relation of Son to Father in an unique sense. This unique relation is acknowledged and enforced in varying degrees of clearness and cogency by a chain of writers extending from St. Mark to St. John, from one end of the New Testament to the other.

To the primitive Apostolic circle Christ was the Son of God, the Lord. By St. Paul, the writer to the Hebrews and St. John in his old age, this conception was retained, but illustrated and amplified. There was no addition to the creed of the primitive community; but the bear-

residue of the sayings of Jesus about His Person, about the character and object of His historical mission and about His relation to the Father, do not go in a single point beyond the sayings to which the Christ of the Synoptics gives utterance.' With regard to Pre-existence, Kühl observes later on, that the consciousness of His Pre-existence and of His having come forth from God, formed a constituent element of the Self-consciousness of Jesus during all the time that He knew that He was the Messiah. *Ib.* p. 80.

ings of what it held were more fully realised, and its consequences were better understood.[1]

The Synoptic writers abstained from drawing the conclusion to which their statements logically point. It is one of the chief signs of their

[1] Jesus Christ was recognised by His followers as the very Person for Whom their race had been confidently waiting,—the Messiah. And this point being once definitely reached, it was perfectly possible to lead men to a larger and deeper conception of Messiahship, especially in the light thrown upon His Person by His Resurrection. That conception would have been hardly comprehended or sustained by His followers while He walked the earth among them, but could be borne as soon as the awe of His personal presence was removed; as He had said, 'I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit, when He, the Spirit of truth, is come, He will guide you into all truth . . . He shall receive of Mine and shall show it unto you.' Jo. xvi. 12 ff.

Cf. Faut, *Die Christologie seit Schleiermacher*, p. 82. 'It is correct to say that a particular doctrine of the Person of Jesus is not to be found in the original Gospel. The faith of the disciples rested on no doctrine of Christ, but from the very first upon the Person of Jesus. . . . On the other hand, it is clear that, after His Death and Resurrection, the conviction that in Jesus Christ had appeared Salvation required clear expression. It is no departure from the Gospel of Jesus, if the Apostles place His Person in the very centre of their life and thought; for Jesus was this centre, as a matter of fact, from the very beginning.'

historical value, that they are content to narrate the bare facts, unadorned and unidealised. They tell us what Jesus said, what He did and, to a slight extent only, what disciples and other people thought of Him. But true to the purpose with which they wrote—the committal to writing of the recollections of the eye-witnesses of His life, before the lapse of time could obliterate the sharpness of the historical outline—they forbore to dogmatise. They speak of Christ as the Son of God. They do not draw out for us what the term implies.

But before they had written a line of their Gospels, there were in existence the letters of an Apostle who did not hesitate to state, in the clearest and most unmistakable language, the meaning of the facts which were already in the possession of the primitive community, and which were hereafter to be recorded in those Gospels. St Paul gives us what, to his own mind and to the judgment of the rest of the Apostolic circle, was the only possible explanation of the phenomena which the Synoptic record has handed down. He distinctly tells us that he compared the Gospel, as he held it, with that of the primitive Apostolic circle. He conferred with James,

Peter and John; and all were at one on all essential points. If the Epistles of St. Paul are referred to, it will be found that his presentation of the Person of Christ is consistent throughout. In the undisputed Epistles, as well as in those that have been challenged, we can find the same conception of our Lord, and that a conception which the Apostle has submitted in conference to those 'who were in Christ before' him.

This consideration is of great importance. It means that, although the writers of the three first Gospels were content to keep to their purpose of recording recollections of the words and acts of Christ, without proceeding to explain what their narrative implied, they were not unconscious of its meaning. They must have shared the knowledge and the belief of the Church as a whole, the full and clear expression of which is embodied in the letters of St. Paul. The Synoptic writers while they record with faithfulness—as shown by their abstention from dogmatism—the words of Christ as He spoke them, and His deeds as He performed them, are yet alive to the tremendous issues which depend upon their story. When they speak of the Son of God they know, if they do not say, what that title means. Of

this we are assured by what St. Paul tells us of his conference with the leaders of the Church at Jerusalem; for the result of that conference comes out in his writings. And the fact of this consciousness on their part has this further result. It means that, when they are drawing their portrait of Christ and employing terms which convey the impression that His Personality is Divine and transcendental, they have no fear that they will be misunderstood, and that an unduly exalted conception of Jesus of Nazareth will be formed. There is no single sentence guarding their readers against such an idea, for none was needed. The primitive Church was of one mind in ascribing to her Lord 'a Name which is above every Name,' in seating Him in glory at the right hand of God.

And what is the conclusion to which the evidence points? Who is this Son of God to Whom the New Testament writers bear their witness? When we try to get behind the language employed, and to penetrate the mystery of a Being Who is as truly possessed of Divinity as of humanity, and yet is one Christ, we find that nothing short of the ascription of Godhead satisfies the requirements of the case. St. Paul

supplies the terms which we need, though, as we have argued, he is at one with primitive Christian thought and expresses what it held. In Coloss. ii. 9, speaking of Christ, he says, 'in Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily.'[1] 'Non modo divinae virtutes, sed ipsa divina natura' is the comment of Bengel. A further step is taken by St. Paul in Rom. ix. 5. He is speaking of the Israelites, his own kinsmen, and adds, 'Whose are the Fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, Who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen.'[2] Christ is God. There, in plain and direct language, we

[1] This refers to Christ as the Eternal Word, not as Incarnate. *v.* Lightfoot *in loc.* Cf. 'God was in Christ reconciling the World unto Himself.'

[2] According to the text of Westcott and Hort. Cf. Godet *in loc.* The punctuation adopted by Westcott and Hort, a comma at σάρκα (in the margin they place a colon), has the authority of the most ancient MSS. and of the Versions which are not ambiguous. Dean Burgon (*The Revision Revised*, p. 210 ff.) characterises the marginal punctuation of the R.V. as a 'Socinian gloss' and states that the clause ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας refers to Christ, according to sixty Fathers. 'Were there no theological considerations in the case, ὁ Χριστός would be naturally taken as the antecedent of ὁ ὤν; and this appears also as the connection which the argument requires.' Fairbairn, *Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 308, n.

have what we have found implied in the Synoptic Gospels, in the thought of the Pentecostal Church, in the Epistle to the Hebrews and in the Johannine writings.[1]

Jesus, the Son of Mary, the Prophet of Nazareth, the Messiah, the Son of God, is Himself God. That is the position which alone satisfies the evidence afforded by the New Testament writers, and it is the only logical conclusion to the argument which we have been following.

But it requires explanation. In the statement, Christ is God, the subject and the predicate are not identical. We can predicate Godhead of Christ: but we cannot invert the statement and say, God is Christ. In other words, the Godhead is a term of greater content than Christ. When we say that He is God, we do not exhaust the conception of Godhead. This is apparent from our Lord's own references to His Divine Sonship. Godhead, according to Him, contains within itself Fatherhood and Sonship. There is distinction. It is no bare abstract unity. The conception of the Godhead is infinitely enriched

[1] Cf. Jo. i. 1, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος. Hebr. i. 8, πρὸς δὲ τὸν υἱόν, ὁ θρόνος σου, ὁ Θεός, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος.

through the revelation of the Eternal Son. The Fatherhood of God was a fact known and fully acknowledged by the Old Testament writers; but it was a Fatherhood which had man for its correlative. Apart from a few scattered indications to the contrary, it cannot be said that the Old Testament knows anything of relationship within the Godhead. The greatest, the most inestimable gift of Jesus Christ to the religious thought of mankind is the knowledge that, within the Godhead, stand over against one another, yet in perfect union, the Eternal Father and the Eternal Son. Fatherhood no more exhausts the conception of the Godhead than does Sonship.

When the New Testament writers speak of Christ as God, they do not consider the question of adapting their language to Old Testament conceptions of the Godhead, although as Jews it was the Old Testament that supplied them with their idea of God. They take the thought of Christ as they had known Him personally or by report of witnesses, and finding Him to be divine, they speak of Him as such. They feel that, if they know anything of God, Jesus is divine, and they do not shrink from calling

Him God, or from speaking of Him in terms which are only applicable to God.[1]

They do not concern themselves with the task of drawing out into dogma the meaning of their belief. They leave that to after-thought.[2] But they have come to realise that the God, Whom they and their fathers worshipped as the One God and Father of all, admits within the circle of His Being a distinction, not of essence, but of Person. To say this is, of course, to use the language of a later age: but the thought, if not its expression, was there.[3] In thinking of God, in the light of their Saviour's teaching on the Father and the Son, their hereditary conception of a solitary Personality, as constituting the

[1] 'Out of the oldest tradition, along with Κύριος and Σώτηρ, the name ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ was fastened on Jesus and in Gentile Christian Communities was strongly held. Out of this name it directly followed that Jesus belongs to the sphere of God.' Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, i. p. 130.

[2] Cf. O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu*, p. 223. 'They might well be content, at the saying of Jesus that 'the Son alone knows the Father,' to wonder at the lofty flight of His Self-consciousness, without drawing further conclusions from it.'

[3] Cf. du Bose, *The Gospel in the Gospels*, p. 281. 'Practical faith in the Trinity antedated any speculative thought or doctrine of the Trinity.'

Godhead, began to take a fuller and a manifold form. To put the idea pictorially, within the one rounded whole of Godhead they began to see the dim outline of shapes co-existing and correlated. The unity is no bare abstraction. There is diversity within it, and they learned from Christ that that diversity comprehended Fatherhood and Sonship, eternally bound each to each in the bond of Eternal Love.[1] This conception

[1] 'What the Apostolic writers attempt is to express the notion which they owed to Christ, of a God Who is both Father and Son, Who is a unity which is the home of distinctions, the distinctions not dissolving the unity nor the unity cancelling the distinctions.' Fairbairn, *Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 393. 'I fully believe that the hints and intimations of a Trinity that we find scattered about the New Testament have their origin ultimately in the teaching of Christ.' Sanday, *Criticism of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 219. *v. suprà*, p. 320, note. 'There are Trinitarian passages in the earliest Christian literature which are not easily to be explained, unless we may suppose that the Lord Himself had associated the Father, the Son and the Spirit in some saying attributed to Him by the tradition of the first generation, *e.g.* 2 Cor. xiii. 14; Eph. iv. 4, 5; 1 Pet. i. 2; Rev. i. 4, 5; Clem. R. *Cor.* 46, 6.' Swete, *The Appearances of Our Lord after the Passion*, p. 77. 'The formula, Father, Son and Spirit, must, with almost entire certainty, be referred to Christ Himself.' Seeberg, *Grundwahrheiten der Christlichen Religion*, p. 118. 'In the New Testament, the Trinity is

is no new, unheard of, one, sprung upon the world by the influence of St. Paul. It lies already enfolded within the teaching of Christ Himself, as handed down to us in what, as we have seen, is probably the oldest Gospel source—the Logia element, common to St. Matthew and St. Luke. St. Paul found it, on his conversion, among the possessions of the primitive Church. It gained much in clearness of definition and in force of expression from the combined application to it of his intellect and his enthusiasm; but it was not his invention. We may feel sure that nothing short of the authority of Christ Himself would have given to the Apostolic Church the confidence, or the justification, to enrich the conception of the Godhead, which they had received from the tradition of the Fathers and—in the language of the succeeding age—'to think of Christ as God.'[1]

not brought forward as doctrine: it comes out as the result of New Testament sayings, if they are put together and followed back into their presuppositions.' Kirn, Art. 'Trinität' in *Real-Encyclop. für prot. Theologie und Kirche*, Bd. xx. 1908, p. 112.

[1] Clem. Rom. *ad Corinth.* ii. (so called) 1, assigned to the first half of the second century (Lightfoot-Harmer, *Apostolic Fathers*, p. 41). The fact of St. Paul's former hostility to

Christ's 'essential equality with God' is not then, as A. Meyer would have it, the result of a gradual development of thought, or the expression of the gratitude of Christendom to Him Who has led men to God; nor is it to be regarded as a necessity, in order to make clear the pre-eminence of Christ over the Caesars and other heroes so freely deified by men.[1]

everyone and everything bearing the name of Christ—'I thought I ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth'—shows that before his conversion, he believed the Christian Faith to be a standing act of blasphemy, and that he was jealous of the majesty of the One God, which he held to be invaded by the Christian devotion to the Person of Our Lord. Thus his attitude to Christianity, as a persecutor, is an indication of what the first Christians thought of Christ. According to Harnack (*Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur*, Th. ii. Bd. i. *Chronologie*, p. 237), his conversion took place within about a year of the Crucifixion. He is therefore, by the fact of his hostility and the presumable motives for it, a direct witness to the earliest Christology. Cf. Illingworth, *The Doctrine of the Trinity*, p. 207. '. . . we believe God the Son to have become incarnate and to have revealed the existence of Father, Son and Spirit in terms which, again under divine guidance as we further believe, led to the subsequent Creed of the Church.'

[1] Cf. A. Meyer, *Was uns Jesus heute ist*, 1907, p. 19. Wernle, *Die Anfänge unserer Religion*, p. 294, with equal disregard to the evidence, denies that the idea of Christ's

Rather is it the logical conclusion which follows from consideration of His unique relation to the Father, His Lordship over the world, His part in creation, His office as Judge, His pre-existence. It is the crystallization into one statement of fact, of the various qualities and powers which have been revealed by His own Self-consciousness, as reported by His first witnesses. It is contrary to the evidence to attribute to St. Paul a conception of Christ to which His earliest disciples were strangers.[1]

Divinity could be arrived at except through the instrumentality of the converted pagan, who had no difficulty in finding a place for Him in his worship. As we have seen above, the truth was already the possession of the primitive Palestinian community. *v. Contemp. Review* for Jan. 1908, p. 6, Lit. Sup. 'We can trace both the assertions of the Trinity and of the Incarnation in their unvarying substantial form back to within ten years of their origin. But the importance of this continuous tradition of a great Society does not stop here. The connection is too close to allow of the explanation of a gradual deification of Christ or of the intrusion of the doctrine from the East, the Triads of India or Egypt.'

[1] Cf. Illingworth, *The Doctrine of the Trinity*, p. 54. 'Christians have sufficient justification, from their own point of view, for believing that the existence of the Trinity was taught by Christ Himself.'

And if the first Christians left the definition of their newly found conception of the Godhead to be laid down by the thought of the future, they were equally indifferent to the metaphysical reconstruction which it required. It had been borne in upon their minds with irresistible force that the Jesus of Nazareth, with Whom they had lived in closest intimacy, was more than Man. His own Self-confessed relation to the Father as Son, in a sense peculiar to Himself, His teaching, His works, the effect, impossible to convey, yet hinted at again and again, of His conduct and bearing upon themselves—all gave the impression that He, Who could so speak and act and behave, was a Divine Being. As Jews, they could not dream of adding a God to the God of their Fathers. Nor could they refuse to own the Godhead of One, Who was so manifest a revelation of all they had learned to associate with the Name of God. Hence their worship and adoration, the Divinity which they ascribed to Him, careless of harmonising their attitude with their ancient creed, caring only to be true to the convictions which it would be treason to resist.

But, if the reconciliation of this belief with the central truth of the Unity of God was the task

of succeeding centuries, the primitive community possessed, in their hold upon the Incarnation, a complete justification for their position. They believed that, in the Person of His Eternal Son, God had come among them; that Jesus Christ, as Man, was born at a certain moment into the world, but that He came as One Who was sent and Who, in His pre-existent life, was One with God. As we have seen, this is especially the teaching of St. Paul and St. John. Each held the truth of the pre-existence of the Eternal Son, although they expressed it in very different terms.[1] Each taught that He laid aside that glory which He 'had with the Father, before the world was,' to come and dwell among men. And it is to the revelation imparted by the Incarnate Son, that we owe the certainty of that manifold nature of the Godhead, which the Church afterwards defined to be a Trinity in Unity, and which alone corresponds to the requirements of philosophical thought when directed upon the Being of God.[2]

[1] 'Jesus is to all the Evangelists a supernatural Person. . . . They differ in their discernment and appreciation of what this belief involves, but not in the fact or matter of the belief.' Fairbairn, *Christ in Modern Theology*, pp. 346, 7.

[2] For the philosophical justification of the doctrine of the Trinity, *v.* Illingworth, *Doctrine of the Trinity*, p. 238

CHAPTER XV

CONCLUSION

In our study of the Person of Jesus Christ as we find Him portrayed in the New Testament, we took our stand upon those portions of Scripture which are admitted by advanced critics of the highest repute to be genuine and authentic. In the Petrine portion of St. Mark and in the Matthaean Logia, common to the First and Third Gospels, we found sources which may be regarded with entire confidence, as forming an unshaken foundation for our knowledge of the Person and the work of Christ.

No main position of the argument contained in these pages has been reached by the use of sources other than these two primary elements of the Gospel. We claim to have found in them all we need to establish our conception of the Person of Whom they speak.

But we have not hesitated to employ, in illustration, or in enforcement of positions already gained, other portions of the Synoptic Gospels, believing that their assignment by certain critics to a lower level of historic value is largely the result of unscientific presupposition, or of subjective methods of criticism.

Further, we proceeded to use not as sole, but as parallel or confirmatory evidence, the Fourth Gospel, believing that it contains the report of an eye-witness who has long meditated on what he saw, but whose reflections give a true account of the essential facts which he relates.

In the speeches of St. Peter in the Acts, we found the mind of the primitive community while under the overmastering influence of the Resurrection. In the Epistles of St. Paul, the teaching on the Person of Christ was found to be in harmony with the thought of the first Apostolic circle.

The course of our argument has run from the visible to the invisible, from the external to the internal, from the human life that could be seen and handled and noted, to the Divine life which the visible and external enshrined and manifested. Taking the plain and obvious as a starting point;

working from what is admitted by all reasonable schools of thought, it passed to a line of cleavage, where men take their sides and come to a decision for, or against, the position which is adopted. This method is argumentatively correct. But it has the disadvantage of obscuring the fact that the true order is the reverse. For, if the visible and external elements of Christ's Person are not an after-thought, if the Incarnation was eternally determined,[1] yet the primal and necessary constituents of His Personality are to be found in His Divine Nature. He was God before He became Man. His Personality is Divine. He is not a human being exalted to Divinity. He is the Divine Word Which 'became flesh.'[2] Therefore, to study His Person in the natural order, His Divinity must come first, and we see the traces of this conviction in the method both of St. Paul and St. John. Their hold on the Divinity of their Lord is so complete, that it is the thought which is constantly uppermost in their minds. But here we have to do with what is matter of

[1] Cf. 1 Pet. i. 20.

[2] 'Assumpsit quod non erat, non amisit quod erat. Apparebat homo et latebat Deus.' Aug. *Sermo ccxli in die Ascens. Domini* (i.).

controversy and the opposite order, if unnatural, is expedient. We have to proceed from what is admitted to what is disputed, and on the ground of those admissions to endeavour to advance to other positions. Like a line of skirmishers moving forward to the capture of a stronghold, we have to secure our hold upon the ground we have won, by digging ourselves in, before we can advance over the bullet-swept plain which is ahead of us.

On this principle, we have considered the evidence bearing upon our Lord as an historical Person, living at a certain time. On the strength of His own Self-consciousness, as reported in undisputed Gospel narratives, we found that He acknowledged Himself to be the Messiah, that He was accepted as such by His own followers, and that He was crucified, on account of the nature of His claim, by the authorities of the time. Along with His Messianic claim as Son of Man, there is indisputable proof that He considered Himself to be the future Judge, the Disposer of the eternal destiny of every member of the human race and, in a sense quite apart from the ordinary use of the words, 'the Son of God.'

And the claims which He advances are, according to our most authentic sources, allowed by His followers. His enemies bear witness to the fact that He advanced them, and the practices and rites of the Christian Church are to-day a proof of their historical character, and of their acceptance by all who in every succeeding age have called upon His Name.

The interpretation of these results of our investigation led to the only possible conclusion. He Who could so speak and act, to Whom His disciples yielded the reverence and adoration which are due to Divinity, Who accepted their worship without rebuke, the sinless Saviour, the Son of God, is Himself Divine. Jesus Christ is God.

It is the only possible conclusion, if we take account of the actual facts. Any position which stops short of it, fails to do justice to the evidence. The construction which the Christian Church has placed upon that evidence for nineteen centuries, which she has embodied in her creeds and made a condition of her membership, has the advantage of taking account of all the facts and circumstances of the case. No difficulty is shirked. Every ascertained truth is allowed for ; and with

the result neither philosophy nor science have any ground of quarrel.

The position of the more 'advanced' wing of the critical school, on the other hand, remains unsatisfactory from every point of view. The process of historical criticism, which has been going on for the last 150 years, has resulted in a general agreement among reasonable students of the New Testament upon certain questions, which are of the highest importance in the study of the Person of our Lord. One of the consequences of this agreement has been the admission that Jesus Christ stands apart from other men, in His character and in the nature of the claims which He advanced.

As we have seen, such an admission as this goes far towards conceding the whole Christian position. Critics of great learning and repute allow that Christ was the Messiah of His people, and that He believed Himself to stand in an unique relation to God. They agree that He was sinless and that, as no other has done, He revealed to man the mind of God.

But, varying as these critics of the more advanced school do in the nature and extent of their admissions, they agree in shrinking from

drawing the logical conclusion of the facts before them. In some cases, this is due to the influence of presuppositions which appear to forbid such a conclusion. In other cases, they are deterred by consideration of the analogies afforded by the comparative study of Religion; while, in many instances, their methods are too arbitrary and subjective to allow them to arrive at an unbiassed conclusion.

The result of the negative attitude which, as they hold, is forced upon them by their point of view, is to land them in an *impasse*. The evidence points to a great, an unique Personality They admit the Divine in Him. Their language rises frequently into heights of religious fervour and devotion, which would be extravagant and uncalled for, if their subject were but human after all. And yet, constrained by their *Weltanschauung*, and by the supposed requirements of scientific criticism, they will not carry their convictions to their only logical conclusion. The Person of Christ remains to them something undefined, midway between God and Man. The influence which is regenerating the world is unexplained, and we get the strange result, that the greatest spiritual force which the world has

known, is misunderstood by all who have yielded to it, and found in it their inspiration. Thus, legitimate inferences, such as would be drawn in any other set of circumstances, are checked by the supposed necessity of *à priori* and subjective judgments. It is not as of old, 'We will not have this Man to reign over us.' They feel and, in spite of themselves, at times they own His sway; but, from their standpoint, they cannot act upon their convictions.

Unsatisfactory as this condition of things must be to the Critics themselves, the result of their labours has, in many instances, advanced the cause of truth and therefore the cause of Christ. The original sources have been subjected to so minute and unsparing an investigation, that we can feel doubly certain of our right to rely upon them. Even where negative conclusions have been arrived at, the general result has often been positive and valuable to a high degree. There is a sureness and definiteness about what is retained, which often compensates for the loss of what had to be given up. If certain outlying positions have had to be abandoned, the fortress itself stands firm.

But there is another side of the question which

must not be lost sight of. Too often, the negative conclusions which have been arrived at with regard to some precious incident of our Saviour's life, or some Word of His which has brought peace and hope to generations of His people, have betrayed the presence of unworthy prejudice, and been found to rest on all too insufficient grounds. The responsibility incurred by those who, lightly and without justification, throw doubt on narratives which have furnished spiritual sustenance to thousands of believers in every age, it is impossible to overestimate; and of this sort of thing there is still too much. It is specially to be deprecated when, as so often happens, the judgment pronounced is spoken as *ex cathedrâ*, unsupported by argument, and resting on no evidence.[1]

In the study of such a question as the Person of our Lord, where the phenomena which can be critically tested and examined form only a small proportion of the subject-matter, it becomes all important to inquire the nature of the presuppositions with which we approach it.

[1] Instances have been noticed in the above pages and could be largely multiplied. Cf. Salmon, *The Human Element in the Gospels*, p. 312.

The practice of many of the advanced school of New Testament critics is to rule out of the province of historical inquiry all 'transcendental' phenomena, and thereby to close the door to any consideration of the Divine claims of Christ. In this way the Gospel History is limited, as history, to the life and work of Jesus of Nazareth as Man. All attempts to follow Him into the other region of His Personality, in which the Church has always believed, are foreclosed by a blank *non possumus*. The belief in the transcendental side of the subject is noted and observed as a fact of history, a stage in the process of human thought and experience. But the *matter* of the belief is left out of account, as a subject with which science has no power or right to deal. For instance, the Easter belief of the disciples is acknowledged and discussed as an historical phenomenon. The object of the belief is passed over as something (if something there be) which stands outside the province of the critic. In this he is an Agnostic. The presuppositions and the *Anschauungen*, with which he comes to the subject, preclude his dealing with this aspect of it.

Is there not in this attitude a confusion of

thought between two distinct objects—the fact and the mode of the fact? It is one thing to disclaim the power to enter into the *how* of a phenomenon of the spiritual world, and quite another thing to refuse to deal with the fact that there is such a phenomenon. In the first case a reverent agnosticism is the only fitting attitude. It is that of the inspired writers of both the Old and New Testaments, and of the greatest thinkers among the Fathers. But to say that, because I cannot know all about a phenomenon, I am compelled to ignore its existence as a fact and to leave it out of account, where it conditions and underlies phenomena which are open to my investigation, is a very different thing, and runs counter to universal practice in matters of common concern. Electricity is a force of which little is known, but it is taken account of and employed. The reality of the external world admits of no complete proof, but we hourly act as if it did.

Why, when the subject matter is the most important with which we can have to do, is the practice of everyday life, in all other departments of thought and action, cast aside?

Why, because we cannot now know all, should

we act as though we could know nothing? Yet, in the case of the school of critics referred to, there is the fullest acknowledgment of the presence of phenomena in the Person and Life of Christ, to which the known categories of ordinary human life and character do not apply. They recognise a something which transcends the measures of humanity, and the very fact of that recognition is supposed to preclude their attempting to account for it, or to allow it a place in their scheme of thought. So it comes about that we have Lives of Christ, studies of His Person, or of His place in world-phenomena, which are penetrating and illuminating in all that concerns His life on earth as Man, yet leave us in the dark as to all those many points, in which the transcendental side of His Personality seems to come into view; and this, too, by the writers' own confession; for they are unable to reject the evidence of it which their criticism leaves untouched.

And yet these writers are serious Theists. They believe in the Fatherhood of God, in His love as manifested in the creation of man, and in the reality of His providence, ordering the events of man's life. When the Life and Person

of Christ are approached under the influence of such presuppositions as these, one might suppose that the way would be open to the reception of all that is conveyed in the New Testament witness to His transcendental nature. For, if man is made for God and in His image; if all that we conceive to be most Godlike in the character of God is mirrored in what we prize most highly in human nature; if there is something Divine in every man, and there runs through all the varied strains of life's music an undertone of deep longing for perfection in union with God—is it not to be anticipated that God, Who created, might in His time visit His creatures, and reveal Himself personally to them? And if, in the New Testament and in the traditional experience of the Christian Church, we find it recorded that One has been here, Who claimed to know the mind of God, and to represent Him among men in such a way that —as one reports—He could say with truth, 'He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father'; and if the life and bearing of the Speaker corresponded with His claims and, in the estimation of those who knew Him best, belonged to One Who was more than man—is not the

anticipation justified? And, if its justification cannot be expressed wholly in terms of humanity, this is no more than we should expect from the nature of the case.

Something more than human, a Divine element in the Person of Christ, is recognised by such writers; but, from their Kantian standpoint,[1] they refuse to admit it as a factor to be considered and reckoned with, although it is in harmony with their conception of the relation of God and Man. The result of this conflict of presuppositions is negative. They can give no adequate or satisfactory account of the phenomena which meet us in the Gospel narrative. Their portrait of Christ is defective. We cannot recognise the Original. There is no soul looking through the eyes.

If their work is marred by this *à priori* defect, it is further affected by faultiness of method. It is subjective and one-sided. This is especially apparent in their treatment of the Text, a department in which subjectivity is fatal to the attainment of truth. A well-attested reading has

[1] Kant, *Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*, ed. Rosenkranz, pp. 73, 142. *v.* Wallace, *Logic of Hegel*, 1874, p. lii.

a right to stand until it can be shown to involve an impossible, or at least an improbable, condition of thought. Where there is doubt, a conservative attitude should have the preference. The very fact of the existence of the reading is an argument in its favour. On the other hand, where there is every appearance of a later stratum of thought, the MS. authority, however complete, may be safely disregarded. The passage is an early intruder.[1]

But attempts are constantly being made to get rid of well-attested passages containing implications of Christ's Divinity, not from any proof

[1] There is something to be said on this ground against St. Matt. xvi. 18. Cf. Wernle, *Die Quellen des Lebens Jesu*, p. 75; Wellhausen, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, p. 93 n. It certainly corresponds closely with a later and local (Rome) state of thought. On the other hand, it is quite in accordance with our Lord's way to single out individuals for commendation, *e.g.* Mary of Bethany, Zacchaeus. But it is a passage which cannot fairly sustain the weight of inference which has been placed upon it. Its authenticity is not above suspicion. Cf. Pfleiderer, *Die Entstehung des Christentums*, p. 211. 'This saying, the historical impossibility of which in the mouth of Jesus is apparent at a glance, contains the germ of the "Primacy of Peter," and of those claims to authority which the Roman Church deduces from it.' *Ib.* p. 95. 'The unhistorical glorifying of Peter as the rock . . .'

of their belonging to a later and intensifying stage of thought, but solely because they run counter to certain preconceptions, or do not tally with the critic's line of thought. Thus, in spite of the evidence of the most authentic sources, and notwithstanding his reverent and penetrating analysis and appreciation of our Lord's Life and Personality, Bousset asserts that He did not overstep the limitations of pure humanity.[1] That assertion is in plain contradiction to what may be inferred from other parts of Bousset's own writings.[2] This is something more than a mere question of inconsistency. Bousset uses his assertion as a foil to whatever evidence may be adduced to the contrary. He has subjectively settled the question of Christ's Person, and is therefore indifferent to evidence bearing upon His Divine Nature. Accordingly, a passage which asserts it is at once condemned. There is no idea of revising the grounds of such a judgment. The positive, tangible proofs to the contrary must be

[1] *Jesus*, p. 91. Cf. Grützmacher, *Ist das liberale Jesusbild Modern?* 1907, p. 20.

[2] *E.g.* such passages as those quoted on page 354 and elsewhere in the present work.

rejected. They do not fit into Bousset's scheme of thought.[1]

Now, the methods generally adopted by critics, who more or less belong to this school, claim to be scientific. But by such means as these, any historical narrative can be emptied of its chief and most precious elements. It is enough to say that an incident is without a parallel, or is not clearly represented,[2] to justify its excision, however strong its attestation and however forcible its appeal to the judgment of critics equally competent to express an opinion. Pronouncements are made with great show of authority, no reason being assigned. Their only justification is the inner light of the critic. In every other branch of study, such methods would be declared contrary to the true spirit of scientific inquiry. Why should they be tolerated in theology?

[1] N. Schmidt deals with awkward passages in the same high-handed way. 'Cases will readily occur to anyone at all familiar with the subject, in which personal opinion has run reckless riot under the guise of scientific criticism.' Illingworth, *The Doctrine of the Trinity*, p. 25, who quotes Loisy's treatment of St. Matt. xi. 27 as an illustration of the subjective temper in criticism. *L'Évangile et l'Église*, p. 79.

[2] Cf. v. Soden, *Die Wichtigsten Fragen im Leben Jesu*, p. 38.

But, if some protest against the methods of certain critics seemed necessary, there is cause for gratification, on the part of believers in the Creed of Christendom, at the large and increasing amount of positive testimony which so many of them bring to the traditional conception of our Lord's Person. Faultiness of method does not avail to stem the expression of reverent devotion, which men of the most advanced type of criticism lay at the feet of Jesus of Nazareth. At times, it seems that all we could wish for is there. The heart, disregarding the supposed intellectual necessity, asserts itself and comes nearer to the Christian view than the cold, critical faculty would allow.[1]

[1] *E.g.* Renan, *Les Apôtres*, p. 23, speaking of the events of the first Easter Day, says, 'such were the incidents of this day which has determined the destiny of the human race.' N. Schmidt, *The Prophet of Nazareth*, p. 360, says: 'Out of the bosom of humanity deliverers come forth, each giving what he has to give. While other teachers may and will do much for our modern world, the healing, purging, elevating influence of Jesus is of priceless value. When His teaching, conduct, spiritual attitude and character are rightly understood, they become a source of strength and inspiration. No man can come in contact with Him without feeling that life goes out from Him. His touch is quickening.' Bousset, *Was wissen wir von Jesus*, p. 63. 'His form stands before us so secure and at home in the realm of the invisible, that it comes over us like a breath

No effort of criticism has been able to eliminate from the New Testament portrait of Christ, the

from that higher world.' *Ib.* p. 65, where he speaks of 'the strong, kingly nature, the consciousness of carrying things out to a conclusion and of speaking the last, decisive word; the confidence in the nearness of His heavenly Father; the luring force with which He constrained the souls of His disciples and laid on them the highest demands, "Who hateth not his father and mother cannot be my disciple . . ." That is the person of Jesus so far as we can attain to it.' Cf. his closing words (*ib.* p. 73): 'We say to the Guide of our souls, Whom we know, so far as it is necessary to know Him: "Thou art the way, the Truth and the Life!"' V. Soden, *Die Wichtigsten Fragen im Leben Jesu*, p. 72. 'We recognise that Jesus stands in a quite unique position. . . . He stands before us unattainable.' *Ib.* p. 97. 'He valued the authorities of the past, but placed Himself over them. . . . Whom He fought, He branded for ever; to what He recognised He gave eternal value.' O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu*, p. 417. 'In the Person of Jesus, religion offers man the highest which it is possible for it to offer him. . . . The Church in every age will join in the confession of the first generations as we have it laid down in St. John i. 14: "We saw His glory, glory as of the only begotten Son of the Father, full of grace and truth."' Harnack, *Wesen des Christenthums*, p. 81, commenting on St. Matt. xi. 27, says: 'Jesus is convinced that He knows God as no one before Him . . . in this consciousness He knows Himself to be *the Son* of God and can say *My* God and *My* Father, and in this address He places something which He alone can put into it. . . . The confidence with which according to John He speaks to the Father, "Thou hast loved Me before the foundation of the world,"

sinless character, the uniqueness of Personality, the Majesty in word and deed, which generations is certainly overheard from Jesus' own consciousness. Here all investigation must call a halt.' *Ib.* p. 82. 'This Jesus has called Himself and Himself alone, the Son of God.' O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu*, p. 221, speaking of the profound Self-consciousness revealed in St. Matt. xi. 27, adds, 'Jesus knows that He alone knows God.' Wernle, *Die Anfänge unserer Religion*, p. 32. 'Thank God, Jesus is something other and greater than Jewish Messiah.' Konrad Furrer, *D. Leben Jesu Christi*, p. 261. 'Jesus Christ, Son of Man, but at the same time Son of God, in Whose love, the eternal love of God is reflected upon us in pure radiance. If we unreservedly put to the proof the Life and Death of Jesus Christ, with the stedfast gaze of science, we shall always end with the confession of the Roman Centurion at Golgotha, but in tones of joy, "Truly this man was Son of God."'

These are but a few of the instances of positive testimony to the Person of Christ, which are furnished by critics whose standpoint is more or less negative. Others have already been noticed in these pages and they could be easily multiplied. It should be remembered that brilliancy of scholarship is no more to be identified with a negative attitude in New Testament criticism in Germany than in England. Two of the most illustrious names in German (New Testament) Theology, Bernhard Weiss of Berlin and Theodore Zahn of Erlangen, belong to the positive school; and men like R. Seeberg of Berlin, F. Barth of Berne, Grützmacher of Rostock, Lemme of Heidelberg, and many others are to be found in the same camp. In England, the best critical work is being done by scholars who have more in common with B. Weiss and Zahn than with such writers as Bousset or Schmiedel.

of His adoring followers have found in it.[1] The only fair construction to be placed on the admissions of the writers referred to, is to credit them with belief in a certain transcendental element in the Personality of Christ, a *Geheimniss* which separates Him from ordinary men, and brings Him into touch with God as no prophet has ever been. If they shrink from drawing what we believe to be the only logical conclusion from the

[1] *v.* J. S. Mill, *Three Essays on Religion*, p. 253. 'Whatever else may be taken away from us by rational criticism, Christ is still left; an unique Figure . . .' Cf. a letter from Strauss to Ullman quoted by the latter in his *Historisch oder Mythisch?* 1838, p. 97. 'To me also, Jesus is the greatest religious Personality to which history can point. . . . His position on the loftiest heights of religious consciousness expressed itself in language as elevated as the words of instruction and thought in which His purely human intellect and originality found expression; His fate, like His Person, was, from the beginning to the end of His life, an extraordinary one.' Pfleiderer, *Die Entstehung des Christentums*, p. 63. 'Whoever heard and saw Him received the impression that here was some new phenomenon, a Teacher unlike the Scribes, a Teacher of the Grace of God, in Whom a higher power was energising, a Divine Spirit, as the faithful felt, a demoniacal spirit, according to the blasphemy of His opponents; in any case, a wondrous Power, to grapple hearts, to cast out evil spirits, and heal the bodies of the sick.' Cf. *Gespräche mit Goethe*, Eckermann, 1837, iii. p. 371.

admitted facts; if they hesitate to call Him Lord and God, we cannot help feeling that their position is unsatisfactory and that, in some instances, a close scrutiny of their presuppositions and of their methods of work would lead to revision of their attitude. Be that as it may, the full Christian belief, founded on the study of God's Word, and on the spiritual experience of those who hold it, guaranteed too by the illuminating presence of the Holy Spirit in the Church, can be held with the confidence that it can be rationally accounted for, and that the keenest application of critical tests has only increased its certainty.[1]

[1] 'We have come to distinguish, with increasing clearness, between criticism proper and the negative assumptions of particular critics—assumptions that the doctrines in question were antecedently incredible and must therefore be explained away. These assumptions do not arise out of the documents criticised, by any logical process of deduction; but as in the parallel case of science, they are imported into the facts; they are presuppositions in the minds of the individual critics formed on other than strictly critical grounds. And when once this distinction has become clear, negative criticism need be no longer so disconcerting as it formerly was to many minds.' Illingworth, *The Doctrine of the Trinity*, pp. 251, 2.

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